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NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION OPENS IN SOFIA 10 DEC

Opening Ceremony

AU101338 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1300 GMT on 10 December 1981 carries a 7-minute live relay from Sofia of the opening of the Fourth Session of the Eighth National Assembly.

The announcer says that Todor Zhivkov, Grisha Filipov and Petur Tanchev are attending the session.

Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, opens the session at 1301 GMT and proposes that those present observe a few moments of silence in memory of deceased National Assembly Deputies Lyudmila Zhivkova, deputy of the Varna constituency; Stamen Stamenov, deputy of the Tolbukhin Okrug constituency, and Metodiy Arabadzhiyski, deputy of the Kurdzhali Okrug constituency.

Following this, he proposes the following agenda:

1 -- Draft bill approving the decrees of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 8 July to 10 November 1981.

2 -- Draft bill on the uniform plan for the socioeconomic development of Bulgaria during the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

3 -- Draft bill on the uniform plan for the socioeconomic development of Bulgaria in 1982.

4 -- Draft bill on the 1982 state budget of Bulgaria.

5 -- Draft bill on amending the general conscription law in Bulgaria and the law on local taxes and fees.

6 -- Proposals on changing the composition of the National Assembly permanent commissions.

7 -- Adoption of plan for the National Assembly's work in 1982.

8 -- Interpellation by National Assembly deputies Ivan Aleksiev to the minister of internal trade and public services and by Mikhail Genovski to the minister of construction and architecture.

After the agenda is unanimously approved by the National Assembly deputies, the session proceeds to the first item on the agenda, whereupon the relay ends.

Zarev on 5-Year Plan

AU101645 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Report on speech by Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, on Bulgaria's 5-year development plan to a 10 December session of the National Assembly]

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA) -- The draft plan for the unified socio-economic development of Bulgaria in the eighth (1981-1985) five-year period provides for an increase of the national income with about 20 percent and in 1982 with 3.6 percent.

The tasks outlined in the draft plan will ensure a stable development of the economy and the further implementation of the strategical task of building the material and technological base of the mature socialist society in compliance with the achievements of the techno-scientific revolution, noted Mr Kiril Zarev, chairman of the State Planning Committee and deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council, who submitted the draft plan for discussion.

In the eighth five-year period will continue the industrialization of the country and the priority development of industry, while the volume of the industrial output will increase by 28 percent and in 1982 by 4.5 percent.

The draft plan features a growth of the agricultural production by about 15 percent for the five-year period and about 2.2 percent for 1982.

Capital investments are envisaged to total about 37 milliard leva; 27 milliards of these investments will be channelled out into material production and 10 milliard into the social sector.

In material production 70 percent of the funds will go into modernization, reconstruction and expansion, and 30 percent into new construction.

In 1985 the amount of the fixed capital will reach 110 milliard leva, 75 milliard leva in the material production alone.

In 1985 the generation of electric energy per capita of the population will probably reach 5,000 kwh, the production of rolled iron made of ferrous metals 420 kg and the production of fertilizers 140 kg.

The growth of the national income will be achieved exceptionally as a result of the increase in the public labour efficiency. It is planned that in the current five-year period labour efficiency will rise by 25 percent. On this basis in 1985 an economy of labour resources to the tune of about 800,000 people will be realized over the year 1980.

The key factor to ensure the rise in profit in the five-year period will be the decreased spending of energy, fuel, raw materials and other materials.

In keeping with the policy of all-round intensification considerable improvements in the sphere of investment are outlined. It is for the first time that a slow-rate increase in the capital investments is to be achieved compared with the growth in the national income.

It is envisaged that the basic funds are to increase by about 32 percent.

It is planned that the profit in 1985 will increase by 60 percent over 1980.

The intensification of social development is to be carried out on the basis of a large-scale transfer of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution into practices.

The introduction of techno-scientific progress will be based on the national research, on the joint developments with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, and on the wide-scale use of foreign experience.

The expansion of all-round automation and mechanization of production will be directly linked with an accelerated development of electronics, robot making and instrument-making.

Conditions will be ensured for promotion of the other strategical trends in techno-scientific progress -- chemicalization and biolo[illegible]ation of production.

In the eighth five-year period industry will increase its leading role in the development of the national economy. Its relative proportion in the national income will grow from 46 percent in 1980 to about 52 percent in 1985. The heavy industry will continue to develop as a stable basis of the economy.

Power generation, as a particularly important rear echelon of material production, is envisaged to increase its output by 30 percent.

The structure of energy balance will be improved, increasing the proportion of electric power, as well as of the local resources in the consumption of energy.

The output of the ferrous metallurgy will go up by about 30 percent and a diversification of the production list and an increase of high-quality rolled stock will be the major trend in the improvement of its structure.

The role of the chemical industry is to be enhanced. The amount of its output will increase by 45 percent. The highest rates of development are set aside for mechanical engineering and the electronic industry. The total output for the whole five-year period will rise by about 50 percent. Such promising productions as the heavy investment mechanical engineering, the manufacture of machine tools, electronic computing equipment and business machines, the electronic and building elements, the instrument-making industry, the means of automatization, metal-ceramics, the communications and medical equipment industries will expand the volume of their output from ten to fifteen percent annually on the average.

A further impetus will be given to the building materials, goods and constructions industry, with the volume of its output increasing by 27 percent.

It is planned for the output of the light industry to rise by 25 percent, and that of the food industry by about 20 percent.

A chief trend in agriculture will be the promotion of grain production on the basis of intensification, by increasing and stabilizing the production of maize. The production of animal husbandry will rise by about 17 percent.

The transport system is to be substantially improved. The transportation of cargoes by all the types of transport will rise by about 15 percent. A priority development will be accorded to the railway transport with a view to lessening the spending of energy and labour resources. The relative share of the electrically-driven transportation will rise, while the amount of diesel-driven transportation will lessen.

Construction and building are planned to develop at moderate rates which will create preconditions for the improvement of the investment process and raising of its efectivity. The volume of building and assembly works in 1975 will increase by 12 percent as compared with 1980.

Special attention is assigned to the improvement of the territorial structure of public production.

The improvement of the economic structure creates conditions for a further development of the foreign economic contacts. The economic integration and cooperation with the socialist countries will continue its development at high rates, intensifying the productional and techno-scientific relations. A prevailing part of the exports and imports will be realized with the socialist countries which will have a relative proportion to the tune of about 80 percent in Bulgaria's trade. Further development of the process of bringing Bulgaria and the Soviet Union closer together is envisaged.

The trade with the non-socialist countries will increase, with an emphasis laid on industrial joint production, techno-scientific and trade cooperation.

Special attention will be paid to the deepening of the foreign economic ties with the developing countries, strengthening the role of industrial cooperation and the long-term trade and payment agreements.

In the result of the intensive development of the foreign economic ties the trade will grow by 40 percent in the five-year period and by 4 percent in 1982, which will ensure accelerating rates of its growth as compared to the national income.

An increase of 15 percent of the real incomes of the people is ensured for the five-year period and an increase of 3 percent in 1982.

On such a basis the purchasing capacity and the degree of meeting the material, the cultural and social needs of the people will be increased. The chief source of income of the people -- the salary -- will increase from an average monthly amount of 182 leva in 1980 to 209 leva in 1985. The minimum salary will be 120 leva at the end of the period.

In accordance with the growth in the national income the public consumption funds will rise by 17 percent in the five years, and by 3.5 percent in 1982 alone.

In 1982 the minimum pensions of cooperative peasants over the age of 70 will be increased. By the end of the five-year period the miminum pension will be half the minimum salary.

The ratio between the minimum and the maximum per capita income in the different counties will lessen by about 30 percent in 1985 compared with 1980. Trade will rise by 21 percent, while the finished goods stock by 35 percent; in this way a faster rise in the commodity funds and the services of the population will be ensured over their purchasing fund. The per capita comsumption of the major foodstuffs will substantially rise in this five-year period.

During this five-year period there will be built 360,000 apartments, with the construction in 1982 alone amounting to 72.6 thousand. The apartments will rise from 89 per 100 families in 1980 to 96 per 100 families in 1985. The construction of blocks of apartments will be concentrated chiefly in Sofia (90,000 apartments) and in the major territorial and production complexes.

A further development of the educational system is to be ensured. By the end of the five-year period all the children at the age of five will be accomodated at kindergartens in order to be enlisted in the first grade at the age of six.

The accomodation of children in the three-to-six age bracket in kindergartens will reach 90 percent in the year 1985. Conditions will be provided for the further development of culture, health care, public facilities and transport. There is planned a large-scale introduction of wasteless or small-waste technologies, closed cycles of water consumption, water treatment and purification, preserving the purity of air and soil.

Doynov Views 5-Year Plan

AU101948 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Report on speech by BCP Politburo member Ognyan Doynov to the Bulgarian National Assembly session on 10 December in Sofia]

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA) -- Speaking on the draft-plan for socio-economic development of Bulgaria in the eighth five-year period of 1981-85 submitted to the National Assembly, the member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Ognyan Doynov, said that the plan required realistic rates of growth and proportions which would ensure the intensive development of the national economy.

In spite of the unfavourable crisis phenomena in the West, in spite of the rising prices on the international market, in spite of the objective world energy predicament, our economy will develop at stable rates, dynamically and on a large-scale in the coming years, he said. Mr Doynov said that this is a convincing proof of the correctness and the viability of the policy conducted by the Bulgarian Communist Party. The plan, he went on, is well within our capacity. The plan is also open -- on the basis of additionally revealed reserves, its social and economic efficiency can be augmented with the aid of the so-called counter plans.

Mr Ognyan Doynov announced that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Ministerial Council recommend priority development for some trends, for which extra funds should be set aside in the eight five-year period and these [words indistinct] be set aside from the economic effect achieved through the counter plans. These trends are transport and communications, science and the completion of the material and technological base in separate settlement systems and the ensurance of goods and services for the population above the planned figures.

The speaker recommended the funds needed for the material and technological promotion of science to be increased at least two times.

Mr Ognyan Doynov praised the correct combination as given in the plan of the industrial and territorial development of the production forces, of urban and country development.

According to him the reserves for increasing supra plan production for market consumption and the services amount to milliards of levas. A turning point can be achieved, provided a fuller use of the big capacities in the light, the food and tobacco industries is secured in combination with the small enterprises currently under construction. In housing construction, too, there are reserves to be utilized.

Among these reserves he mentioned: a better organization in building and shortening the terms of completing the projects, improving the structure and raising the technical and economic indices of the ready products, a more flexible use of the international market, a greater initiative of foreign trade and economic organizations and the application of modern forms of commerical and economic cooperation.

Serbezov Appraises Plan

AU102002 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA) -- Mr Rumen Serbezov, minister of the light industry, said the draft plan for the socio-economic development of Bulgaria in the eighth (1981-1985) five-year period creates the necessary preconditions for a better and all-round meeting of the growing requirements of the people in consumer goods.

In his speech made on the draft plan at the session of the Bulgarian National Assembly today he pointed out that by 1985 the output of this branch-industry will have increased by about 25 percent, while the communal and industrial services will have doubled. Basic productions will continue to develop steadily. Priority development will receive the goods for children and adolescents and household goods. The manufacture of children's knitwear will increase with two million, of the sports goods by 34 percent, of glasswear, porcelain and faience by 35 percent, and carpets and kindred products by 55 percent.

Investments will be chanelled out chiefly into updating, reconstruction and expansion. 90 percent of the capital investments in the branch are allotted to this purpose.

Commissions' Plan Recommendations

AU101952 Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA) -- The standing commissions with the National Assembly maintain that the draft plan on the socio-economic development in the eighth five-year period (1981-1985) will ensure a steady and ascending development of the economy and will create the necessary conditions for raising further the living standard of the people.

In the co-report of the Commission for Socio-Economic Development, compiled with the participation of the other commissions, underlined was the necessity of regulating the order of collecting into the state budget and of spending the money the economic organizations received from the implementation of their [word indistinct].

It was considered adivsable to leave a considerable part of the means at the disposal of the economic organizations.

The co-report underlines the necessity of strengthening the material and technological base of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the higher educational establishments, of creating conditions for an effective use of their scientific potential and for maintaining an up-to-date level of education of the students. Possibilities should be sought to increase the means for purchase of licences, of technical aid samples and for training specialists abroad.

The commissions propose to assign additionally about 120 or 130 million leva for these purposes in the current five-year period.

They suggest seeking out new reserves, including foundation of small-scale enterprises to speed up the expansion of the capacities for production of technical means for mechanization of manual labour.

It was proposed that the Ministerial Council ensure the use of some possibilities of raising the effectivity of the national economy and for realization of extra initiatives in the social sector. One of them is the change of structure and raising the techno-economic indices of the produced goods.

The exports of engineering, [word indistinct], technical and technological knowhow, of software and control systems should be expanded and developed intensively.

The commissions maintain that in the current five-year period the proportion of this intellectual production can reach 5 to 6 percent of the exports total volume. They also maintain that realistic possibilities exist for reduction of terms in construction and putting in operation of a number of national projects which will bring some extra 300-400 million leva of national income. It is also proposed to increase the number of apartments with about 3,000 to 4,000 a year, using fuller the existing capacities and the free financial means of the enterprises.

Belchev on 1982 Budget

AU101628 Sofia BTA in English 1515 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Report on speech by Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, delivered to 10 December session of the National Assembly in Sofia]

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA) -- Bulgaria's draft budget for 1982 provides for 15,824 million leva of receipts and 15,809 million leva of expenditures.

Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finances, who submitted the draft budget for discussion at the session of the Bulgarian National Assembly opened here today, stressed that the draft ensures not only that the level of achievements in socio-cultural policy will be retained but also provides for the possible and the necessary growth of the public consumption funds and for the solving of some other concrete tasks.

In making the draft budget there have been taken into consideration the deepening of the raw material and energy crisis in the world and the negative trends in the fluctuation of prices, the limitation of production and exchange and the difficulties on the currency and finance markets.

Over 92 percent of the receipts will come from the state economic and other socialist organizations.

The outlined measures for general intensification of the national economy will make it possible to increase the receipts in the budget from the profits of the economic organizations.

They are planned to amount on 7,417 million leva. Taxes on profits come second in amount and importance for the receipts. They are planned to reach 3,378 million leva. Payments in state social security are envisaged to reach 3,117 million leva.

The relative proportion of the taxes and fees collected from the people are decreasing with every year in the total volume of the budget. In 1982 they are planned to be 1,259 million leva.

The prevailing part of the expenditures -- over 87 percent -- is channelled out into financing the national economy and the socio-cultural initiatives.

A total of 2,332 million leva will go in investments. Over one milliard leva of these will go to finance the capital investments in material production, which will ensure the accelerated construction of new production capacities in metallurgy, power generation, mechanical engineering and other branch industries.

A major part of the capital investments will go for the industrial transfer of the best achievements in the field of techno-scientific revolution.

Some 5,587 million leva are planned to be used for socio-cultural initiatives. Of these the greatest proportion will go to social security and of these 2,006 million leva will be spent on pensions.

A sum of 1,308.5 million leva is planned to finance all initiatives in the field of education, 267.5 million leva are envisaged to be spent on culture, 901.3 million leva on health care and 129.5 million leva on science.

Only 1.9 percent of the general expences of the budget are provided for the keeping of the state apparatus.

The draft budget also plans the necessary means for the defence and security of the country.

1980 Budget Results Approved

AU101625 Sofia BTA in English 1502 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA) -- Today the Fourth Session of the Eighth National Assembly approved the report of the minister of finance, Mr Belcho Belchev, on the results of the implementation of the 1980 state budget.

In 1980 the revenues in the budget amounted to 13,308.7 million leva and the expenditure to 13,220.6 million leva. The income exceeds the expenditure by over 88 million leva with an affirmed difference of 20 million leva.

The overfulfillment of the income, said Mr Belcho Belchev, came mainly from the above-plan revenues from the national economy, due to the fulfillment of the plan for the socio-economic development. The lesser expenditure came as a result of the tightened control on the spending of funds, including the decreased expenses on management in the non-production sphere as well.

BLAGOEVGRAD DELEGATION VISITS SKOPJE 7 DEC

AU091730 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Dec 81 p 6

[BTA correspondent Goran Gotev report on the visit of a Blagoevgrad city delegation to Skopje on 7 December 1981]

[Text] Skopje, 7 Dec (BTA) -- Another manifestation of good-neighborly relations has already been established and occupies a place of lasting importance in Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations. Friendly ties have been established between the cities of Blagoevgrad and Skopje, including mutual visits of delegations, exchange of exhibitions, concerts and other events marking an ever expanding cooperation.

Skopje welcomed a delegation from Blagoevgrad Okrug today headed by Asen Angelov, chairman of the okrug cultural council. On this occasion Rayko Nikolov, the Bulgarian ambassador in Belgrade, came to Skopje, accompanied by other members of the Bulgarian Embassy in the SFRY.

Tonight an exhibition opened in Skopje showing photographs devoted to the subject "Meetings With the Blagoevgrad Okrug of the People's Republic of Bulgaria." The exhibition shows photographs by Toros Khorisyan, a meritorious art photographer. One hundred colored pictures show part of the unique Pirin area landscape and its beauty, the modernized cities and villages of the region and the inspired achievements of the builders of socialist Bulgaria, their daily life and their festivities.

The opening of the exhibition was attended by Metodi, Antov, chairman of the Skopje City Assembly, by Koco Bitoljanu, chairman of the Skopje League of Communists City Conference, and by Vasko Tegovski, chairman of Skopje City SAWP Conference, as well as by many public figures, cultural leaders and young people. Rayko Nikolov, Bulgarian ambassador to Belgrade, and members of the Bulgarian Embassy were also among those present.

Borislav Naumovski, member of the Skopje Assembly Executive Committee and secretary for education and culture, cordially welcomed the delegation from Blagoevgrad Okrug and declared the exhibition opened. He pointed out as follows: The relations between Skopje and Blagoevgrad unmistakably show that opportunities for cooperation exist in the political, economic, cultural, sports and other fields, in all sectors of common interests. In this respect, the present visit of the Blagoevgrad Okrug delegation represents a new incentive for further development of this cooperation.

In his reply, Asen Angelov expressed confidence that just like the visit of the Skopje delegation to Blagoevgrad in May 1981, this visit as well as will represent a factor of intensifying the cultural and other relations between working people in the two cities. Asen Angelov expressed the wish that the present exhibition and the recitals of the "Pirin" state company in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia will be accepted as a friendly greeting and as a wish for successes in building up Skopje, as well as an expression of the readiness and desire for further friendly relations and cooperation.

Rayko Nikolov, Bulgarian ambassador to Belgrade, gave a reception at the Skopje "Grand Hotel" in honor of the delegation.

POWER GENERATION COOPERATION WITH USSR NOTED

AU101450 Sofia BTA in English 1323 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA) -- If Bulgaria today is CMEA's fourth state in the consumption of electric energy per capita of the population -- 4000 kilowatt hour per annum, if by this index she is above the average European level and outruns a number of states such as Italy, France and Spain, this is due to her close cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Last year the total capacity of electric power stations in the country reached 8.4 million kwh. 6.2 million kw of electric power capacities have been built with the assistance of the USSR. Soviet assistance in the field of power generation is expressed in working out projects, delivery of equipment, assembling the equipment, sending over specialists, training Bulgarian specialists, both on the building sites and at the higher educational establishments of the USSR.

About 20 electric power stations have been built in Bulgaria with Soviet assistance. Among them are the "Varnar" thermo-electric power station -- six power blocks of 210 megawatt each, the "Maritsa-East Three" thermoelectric power station with a capacity of 630 megawatt, the "Maritsa-East Two" thermo-electric power station with a capacity of 600 megawatt and the "Purva Komsomolska" thermo-electric power station with a capacity of 500 megawatt. Bulgaria is one of the twenty states in the world using atomic energy for peaceful purposes, thanks to the assistance rendered to her by the USSR in building the "Kozlodoui" atomic electric power station which in the years of the 7th five-year period (1976-1980) produced 24 milliard kilowatt hours of electric energy for the national economy.

KUBADINSKI RECEIVES GDR NATIONAL FRONT LEADER

AU101051 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] On 10 December Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council and BCP Central Committee Politburo member, received the delegation of the GDR National Front National Council led by Johanna Ulke-Breitkopf, vice president of the organization, which is visiting Bulgaria. The meeting was attended by Gerhard Reinert, GDR ambassador to Bulgaria.

Before the meeting an agreement on cooperation between the Fatherland Front National Council and the GDR National Front National Council was signed. It encompasses the period of 1981-1985.

MIKHAYLOV RECEIVES SED PUBLICATION JOURNALIST

AU102051 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, has received Guenter (Heyden), director of [name indistinct] a publication of the SED Central Committee and candidate member of the party's Central Auditing Commission. During the friendly talks, Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov briefed the visitor on the topical problems and tasks of the party's organs in the ideological front regarding publication and also regarding the fulfillment of the 12th BCP Congress decisions.

ECONOMIC AGREEMENT WITH IRAQ SUMMARIZED

AU101445 Sofia BTA in English 1313 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA) -- With the technical assistance of Bulgaria a number of projects among which ceramic works, a wine factory, roads, an airport, a sewage, irrigation system, 11 bridges, hothouses, tomato paste making lines, etc have been built in Iraq. For ten years now Bulgarian specialists have been carrying out geological prospecting and searching for oil in Iraq. Each year a considerable number of Iraqi young people graduate from Bulgarian higher educational establishments. The foreign trade which last year amounted to about 140 million foreign currency leva testifies to the dynamic development of the two states' economic relations.

Now the economic contacts between Bulgaria and the Iraq are developing on the basis of a long-term economic ties, agreement on the basis of a programme for economic, industrial and techno-scientific cooperation development for the 1981-85 period.

An agreement has been reached for a new bridge, two irrigation systems, "Ashaki 14" and "Ishaki 11," and oil reservoirs to be built by Bulgarian organizations.

Recently Bulgarian enterprises have participated in auctions for the construction in Iraq of 17 slaughter-houses, a tobacco sweat works, 15 freezing stores, of "Samara-Karbala" oil products depots, 23 reservoirs in the region of 14 towns, for installing high voltage electric transmission network — 132 kvt, etc.

POLITBURO MEETS STUDENTS KOMSOMOL AKTIV 7 DEC

Student Holiday Observed

AU072007 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 81

[Summary] "This afternoon, the traditional meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with the students Komsomol Aktiv on the occasion of 8 December -- the students' holiday -- was held at the Sofia Palace of Culture. The meeting was attended by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Peter Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov."

With enthusiastic cheers, applause and chanting slogans in honor of the party, the young students greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the other party leaders. Georgi Tanev, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, opened the meeting addressing the students and teachers, as well as greeting the Politburo headed by "the greatest friend of Bulgarian youths" -- BCP Central Committee Secretary General and State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov.

On behalf of the students, Rumayn Yanev, student from the Karl Marx Higher Economic Institute and winner of a golden badge for outstanding achievements in his studies, addressed the audience and pledged loyalty to the party and state leaders on behalf of the young students in Bulgaria.

"Greeted with enthusiastic applause and ovations, Comrade Todor Zhikov, the first party and state leader, took the floor at the rostrum. He greeted the Bulgarian academic youths with particularly cordial feelings and congratulated them on their holiday. Comrade Todor Zhivkov dwelt on topical issues of our epoch."

A festive concert and recitals of amateur artists from the students' ranks closed the meeting.

Sofia Celebration 8 Dec

AU081640 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 8 Dec 81

[Text] A celebration organized by students and professors of the Kliment Okhridski university in Sofia began today on the occasion of the Bulgarian students' holiday. Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member; Angel Balevski, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Aleksandur Fol, minister of national education; members of the BCP Central Committee's departments and cultural figures as well as Prof Dr Aleksey Novikov, deputy dean of Moscow State University, attended the celebration.

Georgi Bliznakov, dean of Sofia University, delivered a speech.

ATTACKS AGAINST POLISH PARTY, GOVERNMENT SCORED

PRACE: Western Interference

LD100954 Prague CTK in English 0828 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Prague, 10 Dec (CTK) -- Concerted attacks are again made by the enemies of socialism on the bodies of the people's state, government, and especially the United Workers' Party in Poland. "Waged ostentatiously 'in the interest of Polish workers', these attacks are actually inspired by imperialist centres of power and subversion and it is primarily them that they serve", the Czech trade union daily PRACE noted today.

"Virtually not a week passes without certain political circles in the West, especially the United States, making provocative 'representations' concerning the 'Polish issue'. These have a sole purpose: to increase tension, demonstrate support to those forces in Poland which, in their pay, are involved in 'erosion' of socialism, undermining of the socio-political system in Poland and weakening of the Warsaw Treaty".

The wave of subversion rises from notorious sources of psychological warfare waged against the socialist community by various sections of imperialist propaganda for a long time. Most conspicuous among them are the seditious "Radio Free Europe" and "Liberty", but they also include "normal" Western media. Three years ago NATO and its spy centres drafted a plan of financial and economic measures to undermine the Polish economy and make it economically dependent on Western monopolies. A recent E.E.C. commission in London said that aid can be provided to Poland only if it renounces the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party. "This condition strikingly corresponds with the recent launching of a new offensive by 'Solidarity' aimed at removing the Polish United Workers' Party committees from enterprises and weakening the party in its most important point," PRACE wrote.

"Thus the 'interest' in the destiny of Poland, as well as 'contributions and aid' coming from the West, are not designed for the Polish people, are not to serve its needs, but on the contrary, against it. Their true purpose is to influence the situation in the country as much as possible, run subversive operations, step up tensions and weaken the crisis. This is a carefully prepared imperialist conspiracy against People's socialist Poland and against the entire socialist community", the trade union daily emphasized.

Situation 'Coming to a Head'

AU101448 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 81 p 7

[Jan Lipavsky Warsaw dispatch: "'Solidarity' Urges an Attack; The Situation in Poland Is Coming to a Head"]

[Text] This Tuesday the situation in the country came to a head [vyhrotila se]. Reports are coming in from various places saying that the "Solidarity" bosses are preparing counter-revolutionary actions. In the Wielkopolski region they are forming secret groups. At a certain given sign they are to invade official buildings, occupy them and take over power in them. The local self-appointed leaders of the uprising being prepared have already issued orders for the "Solidarity" stormtroopers to tear down number plates from houses and remove road signs.

Throughout the country appeals are heard (and also read in the "Solidarity" bulletins) that the public security members should make it known whose side they will be taking in the open conflict. As in the Wielkopolsko region, "Solidarity" bodies are also convening in other places and diligently working to form the so-called government of national trust.

In the Gliwice area an "exchange center" has already been set up; this is a cover name for the headquarters that is to direct all production processes and the distribution of products. In the Szczecin area the "Solidarity" bosses have a ready-made plan for seizing official buildings -- especially broadcasting and television stations -- after the PZPR's voivodship committee is "occupied." The plan includes slogans like "Death to the PZPR!" Gasoline-filled bottles also are lying ready in the "Solidarity" warehouses. In many places so-called reserve commissions of "Solidarity" are being formed, just in case the present commissions that are preparing the counterrevolutionary actions should be called to account in the legal sense.

On Tuesday evening the television commentator announced that "Solidarity" had unleashed an insurrection psychosis throughout the country. This is also shown by the arrival of emissaries from Gdansk to the Katowice industrial region, where they are issuing instructions to the local "Solidarity" bosses on how to prepare for the "insurrection." Their instructions include, among other things, how to organize and carry out elections to the national councils and the Sejm behind the backs of the government and the Sejm. Demands have been voiced there to "set up tribunals for those who have been managing the country since August 1980," and all leading PZPR figures are being called "criminals."

At the same time the "activity" of the farmers rallied round "Solidarity" is on the increase. The number of official buildings occupied by these farmers is growing.

The people are not only becoming increasingly concerned about the further course of events and the country's fate; they are also becoming increasingly concerned about whether it is at all possible to reach an understanding with those who are already publicly preparing for the overthrow of constitutional bodies.

DEPUTIES DISCUSS AGRICULTURE'S RESULTS, PLANS

AU1011244 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 9 Dec 81 p 1

["KD, SK" signed report: "Deputies on Agricultural 5-Year Plan; Session of Federal Assembly and Czech National Council Committees"]

[Summary] Yesterday in Prague the Committees for Agriculture and Food of both CSSR Federal Assembly Chambers discussed the draft law on the Seventh 5-Year Plan and the draft state budget for 1982. The reports on the submitted drafts were delivered by J. Koci, deputy federal minister of agriculture and food, and K. Jelinek, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission.

"The draft Seventh 5-Year Plan for agriculture as well as the draft state budget of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food for next year are influenced by the results achieved thus far. Preliminary results suggest that in 1981 gross agricultural production will reach an overall volume of Kcs100.3 billion, which is 3 percent below the 1980 result and 5.7 percent below the plan for 1981. The shortfall will be affected especially by plant production where the plan will be fulfilled only 86.2 percent. This is a consequence of the failure to fulfill tasks in the production of grain and leguminous crops, sugar beets and some kinds of fruit and vegetables.

Deputies V. Kuzelova and M. Fabik spoke about the tasks ensuing for agriculture from the draft Seventh 5-Year Plan. "They stated that the draft plan places main emphasis on the development of plant production, which is to increase 14-16 percent in the 5-year period. The annual grain production is to amount to 11 million tons, which is 9 percent more than in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The per hectare yields are to average 4.19 tons, compared with 3.84 tons in the preceding 5-year period.

"The per hectare yields of other crops should also increase. The harvest of potatoes should average 19.23 tons, of sugar beets 36.28 tons (compared with 33.24 tons in the Sixth 5-Year Plan) and so forth. Another demanding task is the increase in the procurement of vegetables, which in 1985 should be 47.8 percent higher than in 1980.

In the discussion, representatives of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the State Planning Commission answered deputies' questions. "Speaking about the problem of the reduction of pig numbers, they noted that pigs are the main source of meat and will continue to be in the future. The reduction of their number by 10 percent does not necessarily have to result in an equivalent reduction in meat production. After all, with the existing fodder the daily weight increment in the CSSR amounts to 0.54 kg even though -- considering the biological material and the quality of fodder -- it should amount to . 0.62 kg or more. The aim for the future is thus to intensify pork production, as the reduction of the number of pigs is not a provisional measure."

In conclusion, both committees recommended that the Federal Assembly Chambers approve both drafts.

The draft Seventh 5-Year Plan and the draft state budget for 1982 for the agriculture and food and forest and water economy sectors was also discussed by the Czech National Council's Committee for Agriculture and Food.

F. Kalina, deputy Czech minister of forest and water economy, spoke about the results of this year's plan fulfillment. "In the forest economy, the plan of cultivating activities was fulfilled 110.9 percent and the plan of extraction activities 101.3 percent. Next year extraction activity is to increase 7 percent compared with this year."

Speaking about the water economy, F. Kalina paid special attention to the purity of waterways. "He said that there has been a marked deterioration in this area in the past 5-year period." He emphasized, therefore, the need to build water purification plants near large sources of pollution. Deputy V. Ruzicka pointed out that the resources earmarked for this purpose are not being sufficiently utilized.

Deputy K. Kostka spoke about agriculture's reserves in taking care of the land. "Speaking about diesel oil consumption limits and their reduction, he raised the suggestion to reassess the entire system of agricultural machinery because the machines used now have a large fuel consumption and harden the surface of the soil excessively. Also the deputies' discussion on this point of the agenda focused on diesel oil conservation and the problems connected with it."

SMENA REPORTS ON TRIAL OF PRAGUE ARSONIST

AU101256 [Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 9 December on page 3 carries a 1,500-word Jindrich Stepanek article entitled "Fire." The article deals with the background of the fire in the CKD diesel engine manufacturing plant in Prague-Smichov on 19 July 1980 and with the trial of 35-year old Zbysek Vitek, member of the plant's fire brigade on duty that day, charged with having set the fire. According to the article, the fire caused damages of Kcs142 million to machinery and equipment and there was an additional Kcs1.5 billion damage caused by "production shortfall and the transfer of the engine production to other places of the republic." It was thus the greatest damage caused by a fire in Czechoslovakia since World War II.

Stepanek first briefly sketches the opening proceedings in the court room. He notes that the defendant, who has no previous police record, confessed his guilt during "preparatory procedures" but denied it in court, saying that he had "made it up." This came as a surprise to the audience, Stepanek goes on to say, all the more so as the defendant "graphically demonstrated" his deed during two reconstructions.

In the body of the article, Stepanek reviews the action of the fire brigades in the night of 19 July 1980 and describes the difficulties caused by the transfer of the production of diesel engines to other CKD plants -- in Prague, Chocen and Hradec Kralove.

In the final passage, the author turns again to the court proceedings.

Reporting on testimony by unnamed "experts" he says: "They ascertained that the fire could not have broken out from a cigarette thrown by Zbysek Vitek into a vessel with inflammable matter while he made his rounds, as he claimed at first. Even his second version did not hold water. According to this version he allegedly ignited a piece of cleaning cloth soaked in an inflammable liquid. The reconstruction showed that only the third version of the defendant's confession was correct: Zbysek Vitek poured gasoline on a receptacle containing flammable matter, ignited it and left for his office.

The article then notes that during past small fires in the plant, Vitek was always among those who "took an active part" in extinguishing them: "But all these fires had one common denominator: they happened only when Zbysek Vitek was on duty." Stepanek thus concludes, basing his conclusion also on testimony by Vitek's colleagues, that the defendant's motive "was to prove that he is more competent than his colleagues to become a commander of a squad one day." According to the psychologist, Vitek is "fully responsible" for the deed. As a fireman he also must have realized its consequences."

Reporting in conclusion Vitek's sentence, the article says: "On 24 September 1981 the Supreme Court of the Czech Socialist Republic confirmed the decision of the Prague City Court and sentenced Zbysek Vitek to 25 years prison in the third correctional group and to replace Kcs100 million worth of damage. The sentence has already gone into effect."

ADDITIONS, CORRECTIONS TO EMIGRE RECORDINGS

The following additions and corrections to the item entitled "Recordings of 'Hostile' Emigres Show 'Paymaster'" published in the 9 December Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, pages D1 - D6, were taken from a report broadcast by Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1645 GMT on 9 December.

On page D 1, last paragraph, last sentence, make read "...know better. At least it is their business, and it is better that the blame can be put at the door of the Trotskeyites than if it were the CIA or the Bundeswehr." (supplying indistinct words, rephrasing)

On page D 3, fourth paragraph, line two, make read "...an untenable proposition; it is just like Jostan, you see. Pelikan holds the ...." (rewording, supplying indistinct words)

Same page, sixth paragraph, lines seven-eight, make read "...then he will start getting into fresh debts again since ...." (rephrasing)

Same page, last paragraph, line one, make read "...in order to salvage the supply ...." (deleting editorial notation, extraneous word)

On page D 5, first paragraph, line one, make read "...to Prague, some sort of French socialist. Well, he said ...." (clearing queried words, adding "French")

Same page, fourth paragraph, make sentence read [Mr Tigrid] "when questioned about the car they did not say where they had obtained it." (clearing queried words, rephrasing)

Same page, fifth paragraph, lines two through four, make read "...know the better. At least it is their business, and it is better that the blame can be put at the door of the Trotskeyites than if it were ...." (correcting, clearing queried words, rephrasing)

Same page, ninth paragraph, line three make read "...he left the money with Anicka Sabatova." (supplying indistinct word)

SECRET RADOM SOLIDARITY MEETING REPORTED

AU101714 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 9 December on page 2 carries a 400-word ADN dispatch from Warsaw, entitled "Solidarity Wants To Over-Throw People's Power in Poland: Tapes About Secret Meeting in Radom Published," reporting on and quoting passages from excerpts, recently published by TRYBUNA LUDU and the Polish radio and television, from the taped minutes of a Solidarity conference in Radom.

According to these reports, Solidarity leader Walesa stated that "the confrontation is inevitable and there will be a confrontation," and Warsaw Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak is quoted as having requested the immediate convening of a "social council for national economy" and adding that "this council will be a form of provisional government."

An unidentified Poznan Solidarity leader stated according to the tapes that: "The government must be finally overthrown," and Solidarity leader Jan Rulewski reportedly said in Radom: "Let us struggle for the provisional government which will stabilize the country until the elections, because without stabilization the elections will not take the turn which we expect them to take."

JOINT COMMISSION WITH USSR ENDS SESSION

Documents Signed 10 Dec

LD102228 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1740 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin 10 Dec (ADN) -- The 29th meeting of the Joint GDR-USSR Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical cooperation ended in Berlin on Thursday with the endorsement of important documents. The chairman of the commission, Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Leonid Konstandov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, solemnly signed the protocol of the meeting.

Ministers of the two sides signed documents affirming 10 new agreements which further implement the long-term program of specialization and cooperation of production between the GDR and the USSR. Members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Werner Krolikowski; Guenter Mittag and Paul Verner, as well as Werner Jarowinsky and Guenther Kleiber were present.

On the occasion of the signing of the documents of the 29th meeting of the joint government commission, Gerhard Schuerer gave a reception for the participants in the commission discussions. The USSR Government delegation left for home afterward.

Stoph Receives Members

LD102248 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, in Berlin today received the members of the GDR-USSR joint government commission which ended its 29th session today.

JAPANESE SCIENTISTS FAVOR INCREASED COOPERATION

AU091418 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 81 p 2

[Summary] Dresden (ADN) -- On the occasion of the 100th birthday of Heinrich Barkhausen, inventor of low-voltage engineering, several Japanese scientists visited the Dresden technical university to participate in the ceremonies. The scientists praised the achievements of the GDR in the field of electrical engineering and praised the work of the Dresden technical university in the field of electronic research. The Japanese university professor (Hajime Yano) stressed to the press that Japan and the GDR must expand cooperation and the exchange of experie ces in the field of science.

SYRIAN DELEGATION MEETS WITH FELFE 10 DEC

LD101558 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] A delegation of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party of Syria met in Berlin today with Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, for a friendly discussion. The Syrian guests earlier had a drive through Schwerin and Potsdam during which they were briefed on the development of socialist agriculture in the GDR.

AXEN RECEIVES CHILEAN PARTY LEADER 10 DEC

LD102224 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1610 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 10 Dec (ADN) -- Hermann Axen, member of the SED Politburo, on Thursday received Clodomiro Almeyda, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Chile, for a friendly talk. The talk dwelt mainly on questions of international developments and the cooperation between the two parties. Both sides stressed that the active struggle of all peace-loving people for arms limitation and disarmament and for the prevention of the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe is the most important requirement for the preservation of peace today.

Clodomiro Almeyda gave an account of the unconcealed cooperation of the Reagan administration with the Pinochet regime, and stressed his party's efforts to intensify the opposition of the people against the Pinochet dictatorship jointly with all other antifascist and democratic forces. The two politicians stressed that their parties stand firmly at the side of the peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador and condemned the aggressive interventionist policy of imperialist circles.

It was agreed to continue the time-tested solidarity and cooperation between the SED and the Chilean Socialist Party.

ZIMBABWE PRIME MINISTER RECEIVES ENVOY 9 DEC

LD101330 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1107 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Salisbury 10 Dec (ADN) -- Robert Mugabe, prime minister of Zimbabwe and president of the ZANU-PF, [Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front] received the GDR ambassador, Otto Becker, in Salisbury on Wednesday. Robert Mugabe noted with pleasure the fruitful development of relations between the two friendly states as well as between the SED and ZANU-PF. He expressed his concern at the exacerbation of the international situation resulting from the aggressive policy of imperialist circles. He also expressed his conviction that the progressive forces of the world would succeed in averting the threat of a nuclear war.

SINDERMANN ON DUTIES OF REPRESENTATIVE BODIES

LD100028 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2300 GMT 9 Dec 81

[Text] A working group of the State Council headed by Deputy Chairman Horst Sindermann consulted in Rostock yesterday with deputies about the duties of the people's representative bodies. Horst Sindermann made it clear that the general demand to achieve more with less expenditure is valid for all under the changed conditions and [word indistinct] everyone. Higher requirements, therefore, face the people's representative bodies and the [word indistinct] agencies. More than ever, what is needed is work that is more rooted in the people and more national. Horst Sindermann said that the deputies should concentrate in helping to implement the economic strategy decided on at the 10th SED Congress. High results in socialist competition linked with further improvements in working and living conditions are the objective of the people's representatives. Besides this, the committees of the National Front, along with the deputies, must take greater care that the cities and local communities become more beautiful and pleasant places in which to live.

REPORTAGE OF USSR'S TIKHONOV VISIT 7-10 DEC

AU091555 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Dec 81 p 3

[Toast by Hungarian Council of Ministers Chairman Gyorgy Lazar at a 7 December dinner in honor of Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at the Hunting Hall of Budapest parliament: "Gyorgy Lazar: Relations Are Firm and Well-Founded Between Our Countries"]

[Text] To begin with, our premier expressed his sincere pleasure that we are able to welcome Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Soviet Union's Council of Ministers, on an official friendly visit to our country. He added: This outstanding, important event will provide an opportunity for us to manifest once more the intimate and fraternal nature of the relations between our peoples, countries and parties, and Janos Kadar and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev personally. He emphasized: This visit is an important contribution to strengthening the friendly ties that link our peoples, a contribution that fosters the multifaceted relations between our countries and enhances the effectiveness of our joint struggle for progress, peace and security.

Our people are familiar with, take note of and highly value the tremendous results attained by the fraternal Soviet people, under their Leninist party's leadership, in realizing the glorious ideals of Great October, in making the Soviet fatherland prosper, developing the economy, science and culture and constantly improving living conditions. Like all true adherents to peace and socialism, our people are also filled with enthusiasm by the magnificent objectives set before the Soviet people, who are building communism, by the historic 26th CPSU Congress. We sincerely wish our Soviet friends much success in implementing the resolutions of the 26th congress.

Dwelling on the tasks facing our country, Gyorgy Lazar stressed: Under the party's leadership, gathered in a close national unity, our people are continuing to build an advanced socialist society in a calm political atmosphere inspiring creativeness and successfully working on implementing the resolutions of our party's 12th congress. We appreciate the stable domestic political atmosphere and our people's readiness to act particularly highly because we are living in an era where, under difficult circumstances, we must accomplish difficult tasks. At the same time, we must fu'fill the requirements, posing an additional great trial of strength, of guiding our people's economy onto a path of intensive development and counteracting a substantial deterioration of the external conditions of our economic activity.

Taking our resources and means into account, we have set ourselves the goal of increasing the national income to a modest extent -- 2-3 percent annually -- in the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, maintaining the attained standard of living and improving the equilibrium of the people's economy. Accomplishment of these tasks calls for great effort, optimal utilization of our reserves and more rational, economical and efficient work than ever before.

Dear Comrade Tikhonov, our dear Soviet friends, ties of friendship and alliance with the countries of the socialist community -- including, above all, with the Soviet Union -- are of outstanding importance for the Hungarian People's Republic. Concerning Hungarian-Soviet relations, I can say with great satisfaction that they are serene and based on firm foundations. We are linked by common revolutionary traditions and an identity of common ideals, objectives and interests. The fact that there is unity, based on principles, regarding all important issues between the MSZMP and the CPSU, and the fact that a spirit of mutual trust permeates our multifaceted cooperation play a decisive role in the constant development of our relations. In this, an outstanding role is played by personal meetings between Janos Kadar and the true friend of our people, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, meetings which always inspire us afresh to do even more to intensify our friendship and cooperation.

Stressing the significance of the multifaceted and rich Hungarian-Soviet relations that encompass all areas of life, Gyorgy Lazar then noted:

Economic cooperation between our country, in particular, has decisive importance for us. That is borne out just by the fact that the Soviet Union is our biggest economic partner and the 1981 turnover is expected to amount to over R6 billion. However, it is even more telling that over three-fourths of our energy and electricity imports and one-third of our imported raw and basic materials come from the Soviet Union. As a result of extensive technical-economic and scientific cooperation with the Soviet Union, dozens of the new plants have been and are being established. To cite only a few examples, coal mines being established as part of the Eocene program, the Paks nuclear power plant, the Dunaujvaros coking plant and the Budapest subway are being built with the participation of Soviet industry.

It is generally known what important role is being fulfilled in laying the foundations for our economic development by the aluminum oxide-aluminum agreement, the agrochemical agreement, they system of oil and gas pipelines linking our countries, the 750-kilovolt long-distance electric line and the cooperation in production that has developed and is increasingly expanding in the most important agricultural and industrial branches.

It is gratifying to know that our country occupied sixth place among the Soviet Union's foreign trade partners. One-third of our exports goes to the Soviet Union. It is satisfying to hear appreciative words from our Soviet friends about the reliable function of the modern equipment provided for the Moscow Olympic games and the Ikarus buses, of which more than 50,000 are in operation in the Soviet Union; that there is interest in Hungarian agriculture's production experiences; that our brothers are satisfied with the quality of Hungarian machines, instruments and pharmaceuticals and that consumer goods of the light industry, agriculture and food industry are popular, said Gyorgy Lazar, noting that there are still many possibilities for enhancing our results and developing our economic cooperation, which we are greatly interested in exploiting.

As for us, the Hungarian People's Republic, it lies in our vital interests that in implementing the long-term program until 1990 on specialization in production and cooperation in the form of joint ventures, a program that defines the main lines of economic, technical and scientific cooperation, we should further intensify industrial and agricultural cooperation between our countries, make relations between institutes and producer enterprises more direct and form joint enterprises to satisfy one another's requirements and act in concert in third markets. Gyorgy Lazar then noted that developing our bilateral economic relations contributes, at the same time, to intensifying socialist economic integration underway within CEMA.

We are pleased to note, he said, that the standard of Hungarian-Soviet cultural relations is also becoming increasingly higher. Cooperation is expanding in the sciences, and we are particularly gratified that more and more friends are being made among the Hungarian and Soviet people. All that makes it understandable and natural that our people regard the development of fruitful relations between our country and the Soviet Union and the constant strengthening of our fraternal friendship as their very own cause and sincerely approve them.

The progressive and peace-loving forces of the world realize what an important contribution is being made by the consistent foreign policy of the mighty Soviet Union and the efforts of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, a peace fighter who is respected throughout the world, to the success of the struggle being waged to safeguard the security of mankind and to promote social progress. For that very reason, the special attention paid by international public opinion to Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's latest visit to the FRG is entirely understandable. It is the opinion of our party and government that the visit has served well the cause of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and European peace and security. We welcome and support the new constructive Soviet proposals made on the issue of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union's repeatedly manifested aspiration to peace is of particularly great significance now, when extremist imperialist forces, rekindling the arms race, striving to upset the balance of power and creating even the possibility of a nuclear war, risk everything we have achieved in developing cooperation among countries based on mutual equality and mutual advantage.

Continuing our foreign policy, which manifests our people's interests and will, we are in full support of the peace program adopted at the 26th CPSU Congres. We welcome the resumption of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, and take a stand in favor of guaranteeing the equal security of countries on a lower level of armament. We are prepared to cooperate with all true adherents to peace and progress. In the future, as before, the Hungarian People's Republic will honorably fulfill the obligations it has assumed in the Warsaw Pact, our defense alliance playing an important role in preserving peace, and will go all out to consolidate the unity of our socialist community and increase its strength and prestige.

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and our people as a whole, I wish many further sucesses to the fraternal Soviet people in implementing the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and their consistent and untiring struggle to preserve world peace and promote universal social progress.

In conclusion, he raised his glass to the Soviet people, who are building communism, the indissoluble eternal friendship of the Hungarian and Soviet people and the victory of socialism and peace.

Tikhonov Departure

LD101136 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the [USSR] Council of Ministers, was sent off at Ferihegy Airport a short while ago.

We are now going over to our reporter Laszlo Krasso at Ferihegy: Nikolay Tikhonov, our country's guest, left Budapest at noon today. The Soviet premier, who had paid an official friendly visit to Hungary, was sent off, following a military guard of honor salute, by Gyorgy Lazar, member of the [MSZMP Central Committee] Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lajos Mehes, member of the Politburo and minister of industry; Andras Gyenes, secretary of the Central Commitee; Deputy Premiers Janos Borbandi, Lajos Faluvegi and Jozsep Marjai; members of the government were present at the airport which was decorated with flags and greetings slogans. Matyas Szuros, Hungary's ambassador to Moscow, and Vladimir Pavlov, USSR ambassador to Budapest, were also present. At the Hungarian-Soviet talks which have just ended, the two sides informed each other about their countries and about the tasks of the current plan period. They also discussed topical international issues, the preservation of the peace on our continent and bringing an end to the arms race. We will obtain details of the talks from a communique which is to be issued.

Communique on Visit

For the Moscow TASS version of the joint Soviet-Hungarian communique in the visit of Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov to Budapest, see pages F 6-10 of the Eastern Europe section of the 11 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT. The TASS version is identical to a verstion carried by Budapest MTI in English 1800 GMT on 10 December.

Lazar Reports on Visit

LD102210 Budapest MTI in English 1800 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 10 Dec (MTI) -- At the Thursday session of the Council of Ministers Premier Gyorgy Lazar reported about the official friendship visit to Hungary of Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the Soviet Union's Council of Ministers.

The government approved the report.

The Council of Ministers made a resolution about the 1982 National Economic Plan, the tasks of its implementation, as well as about [words indistinct] tasks of the switchover so far had been solved well. Till the end of November 900,000 workers were ensured two days off per week. From January 1, 1982 another 3 million people will start working five days a week. The Council of Ministers has resolved that the central state and justice administration organs should switch over on February 1, 1982. The councils and the rest of state administration bodies and institutions will introduce the five-day work-week according to [passage indistinct].

PUJA, GYENES RECEIVE FRG PARLIAMENTARIAN

LD102310 Budapest in English to Europe 2100 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Mr Rainer Barzel, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Bundestag, the West German federal parliament, has paid a short visit to Budapest. The West German politician, who is on a round trip to Europe, was received in Budapest by the foreign minister, Mr Frigyes Puja, and the deputy speaker of parliament, Mr Janos Peter, and had discussion with Mr Andras Gyenes, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian parliament.

MSZMP'S BERECZ ADDRESSES IDEOLOGICAL SEMINAR

LD102320 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] A national ideological seminar on the topical issues of the international ideological struggle started today at Tatabanya. All who heard the opening speech by Imre Gyori, Central Committee department chief, or the later speeches, could sense very strongly the extremely close relationship of ideology and politics. Janos Berecz, head of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department, who delivered the introductory lecture, also shed light on the inseparable relationship between life and theory when he spoke about the economic and social reforms of socialism in Hungary:

[Begin recording] Socialist society is a dynamic, changing, moving organism. If unresolved tensions or contradictions mount up within it, this provides an opportunity for demagogic or counterrevolutionary attacks. Measures are needed to resolve them. On the basis of our experiences I would say that in the event of three fundamental conditions being fulfilled these measures really strengthen the process of socialism. One of these is that every necessary change and new initiative should proceed from society's leading force, the Marxist-Leninist party, and should be conducted under its political direction. There is no need for haste, but one must not wait until the urgent changes push their way through spontaneously, because they can be turned temporarily against socialism, the real workers power. The second condition is that every change and new idea should be carried out under the economic and organizational supervision of the socialist administration. The third is that no idea or new measure which appears to be good or which, in the given circumstances, indeed proves to be good, should turn into a dogma in our hands. [end recording]

The further lectures discussed, and will discuss tomorrow, the topical issues of the international ideological struggle, raising the viewpoints of history, economy, culture and information. The texts of the studies will also appear in book form in the near future.

BORBELY SPEAKS AT KADAR'S WORKERS' GUARD VISIT

LD110706 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] We begin our detailed reports with an account of Janos Kadar's visit to the national headquarters of the Workers' Guard.

The MSZMP Central Committee first secretary listened to a report by Sandor Borbely, national commander of the Workers' Guard. He paid great attention to the section on training, political and social activity and how the Hungarian workers' guards live and work. It was recalled that following the 1956 events, the workers took up weapons, and the body of steel-grey uniformed people was formed. The MSZMP Central Committee first secretary, having listened to the briefing, said:

[Begin recording] I would like to say something about our internal politics. Nowadays nearly everything begins with a 25-year review; there have been series of articles, radio talks about these 25 years, a news film was made, and it seems that they rightly dealt with 1956. The essence, lessons and experiences of 1956 were reflected. (?Some of you) know that during the past 25 years we did not hold anniversaries to a great extent. The fact that we are celebrating now did not happen without reason. We thought it right to publicly evaluate and (?assess) these historical experiences from many viewpoints. Perhaps, 25 years is a long time and certain events can be forgotten. We generally do not live by looking backward but by looking ahead.

However, the experiences must not be forgotten. As for those who did not live through these times with [word indistinct] and actively, they must become familiarized with [word indistinct] experiences. We thought that this has some topicality, perhaps internationally too. This is why here too we recalled in wide circles these experiences.

Many things have been cited, but I would like [word indistinct] the Central Committee resolution of December 1956, which is the most essential summary of the policy with which (?we) took up the fight against the counterrevolution, and which actually provided the backbone for our policy today.

It can be said about this policy that it proved to be durable, that it was a consistent and useful policy capable of change and renewal.

You know that (?in our party and in our history) praise is not a custom, but we can say that what our party took responsibility for then, [word indistinct] it has accomplished. (?Not every political institution can always say) that. We have gone through extremely great development. This socialist system has strengthened and developed because apart from the defense and strengthening of power, the socialist reorganization of Hungary was carried out, without which, naturally, a stable and strong socialist society cannot be built.

Another such great initiative must be mentioned. This belongs to our socialist development and is the introduction of the economic reform which did not get adequate elucidation for a long time. In a certain sense it was also controversial, but now after [word indistinct] 12 years it can be said that it has proved viable. What is new is that in such fundamental areas as the economic sphere it was able to secure on the basis of experiences the main socialist features of the society's economic bases, and it could pair this with a type of flexibility. This (?is the economic significance), the (?main goal of the reform). The most important is widespread people's [word indistinct] (?unity). To achieve this was the most difficult . Tasks of the earliest period could not have been (?grasped).

We should restore the honor of the socialist word, the trustworthiness of the party [word indistinct], the trustworthiness of our government and state, [words indistinct]. It was successful, and in the end in such a widespread [words indistinct] national (?unity) for the realization of the accepted and proclaimed social goals. The people have trust in the party, they have trust in the leadership and in direction. [Words indistinct], and this has repercussions. I too am a socialist. [Words indistinct] I have been a communist for a long time, and I have learned that it is necessary and possible to work and fight in all conditions. It is necessary and possible to work and fight to preserve, strengthen and further develop our achievements. [end recording]

SOLIDARITY KK PRESIDIUM MEETING 10 DEC

Preparations for KK Congress

LD101926 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] And now one more item that has just come in: The Presidium of the National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity has been holding a session in Gdansk under the chairmanship of Lech Walesa. The subject of the session was an assessment of the situation in Poland in connection with the KK plenary sessions planned for 11 and 12 December. A program covering the essential points of the session has been prepared on the basis of the results of consultations with the rank-and-file masses. The program takes into account issues that are connected with the stand adopted by the union leadership during the Radom session. Among other issues discussed were issues pertaining to the molding of territorial self-management, to the union proposals on electoral law, to the People's Councils, to preparations for holding a referendum on the matter of statutes for workers' self-management and to matters stemming from the introduction of the economic reform.

Walesa: Excerpts 'Distorted'

LD102228 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] A press conference by union chairman Lech Walesa has been held in connection with the Solidarity National Commission Presidium session in Gdansk.

At the beginning of the conference the chairman defined his attitude toward the report on the National Commission's deliberations in Radom which is perturbing public opinion. Lech Walesa stated that reports in the press, on television and in other mass media distorted the meaning of various statements and also the union's general stance on basic issues extracting excerpts of the discussion in the 10-hour deliberations. In order to close the issue of leaks from the Radom session and to present the true picture of this session, according to the speaker, the talks could be published in full and not merely in selected excerpts.

I emphatically stress, Lech Walesa said that we are in favor of accord, that we will pursue our program of renewal, and that we do not want confrontation. The use of the expression "confrontation," the chairman assured, means only strike in union terminology. National accord is essential but on the condition that it will be honest. Taught by experience, we now believe no one, and want to have the right of control in all issues which are of importance for the community. And we will fight for this.

The union, Lech Walesa stated, is playing an honest game. When prospects for accord are taking shape, when the union is trying to end strikes and is conducting specific negotiations with the authorities in order to bring the accord closer, forces which do not tolerate us are provoking an exacerbation of tension in the country, in Chairman Walesa's opinion.

Lech Walesa later explained that in using the term "game" in the sections concerning relations with the authorities he had in mind the selection of appropriate concepts of ac ing in negotiations with the partner which would be of greatest benefit for the union's members. The chairman stated that the Presidium at times must get on the wrong side of people when presenting controversial decisions. I can assure you that strategic decisions which are felt most by all the community will not be made without the will of the union masses being taken into account.

During the conference members of the Presidium, and Lech Walesa in particular, expressed their views on other issues, including the accusation alleging that Solidarity is striving to remove the party from work enterprises. This accusation is untrue. The union does not want to eliminate the party from work enterprises. What is more we will oppose attempts of this sort. We desire accord with everyone who displays good will toward us.

Replying to one question, Lech Walesa declined to comment on the course of the latest meeting with Primate of Poland Jozef Glemp, saying only the following: In our striving for the good of the country and of the working people we still want to use the church's rich experiences of many centuries standing.

SOLIDARITY KK PLENARY DEBATES OPEN 11 DEC

KK Agenda

LD110852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] A 2-day plenary session is beginning today of the National Commission [KK] of Solidarity at the Gdansk Lenin yard. The following issues will be found in the program of the session: a definition of the strategy and tactics of the union in the present situation in the country and union; territorial self-management and proposals for electoral law in People's Councils at the primary level; an assessment of the development of the self-management movement; preparations for the referendum on enterprises and self-managements; and the principles governing the functioning of industrial and professional sections. [not further identified]

Walesa Speaks to Journalists

LD111110 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] In the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk the 2-day plenary debates of Solidarity National Commission [KK] opened today. The agenda includes topics which were decided at yesterday's KK Presidium meeting, including defining the strategy and tactics of the union in the present situation, territorial self-management, proposals concerning electoral procedure at the basic level of workers' self-management, analysis of the economic situation, the stance on price increases, and the matter of bills on trade unions.

Before the debate, numerous journalists asked Lech Walesa about the KK's Radom debate and the union's policy toward the government. Lech Walesa firmly supported the line of accord and stressed that it concerns an accord which would really serve the resolving of problems in the country.

When asked what, in that case, the union's readiness for confrontation means, he stated that it can only mean the strike, because the union has no other weapon at its disposal. Lech Walesa said that he would like to avoid the use of strikes.

KPN URGES SOLIDARITY TO CALL GENERAL STRIKE

NC101756 Paris AFP in English 1739 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (AFP) -- The dissident Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) today called on the Solidarity union to stage an immediate general strike in the country to chase the communist party from the factories and institute self-management everywhere.

The Confederation, whose platform is openly anti-communist and whose three top leaders are in jail, made its call from its national headquarters at Katowice, southwest Poland.

Founded in September 1979, the Confederation has an unknown number of followers, some within Solidarity, although many Solidarity branches have forbidden it to be active within the union.

In its appeal, the organization charged that the communist party was engaged in "a counter-revolutionary offensive" and was already assessing the terrain through military units deployed in the cities and countryside with a view to the proclamation of a state of emergency.

If that offensive was not halted in time, the organization [words indistinct] beyond advocating self-management in plants. The grouping also called, "wherever possible," for democratic elections towards self-government on the local and regional levels.

PRESS COMMENTARIES ON SOLIDARITY RADOM MEETING

PAP Roundup

LD102204 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (PAP) -- Polish dailies today carry more comments and statements on the latest enunciations by Solidarnosc leaders in Radom.

TRYBUNA LUDU was (?told by) people of different trade and organizational affiliation that "irresponsibility of some Solidarnosc leaders is horrifying".

"Confrontation means destruction for all of us. Both sides should try once again to sit down at one table", a worker from an industrial plant in Radom said. "I think that a social union of working people will not further tolerate their most prominent leaders and their policy. I am of the opinion that Solidarnosc leaders' declarations in Radom revealed their true attitude", said a deputy director of a Kielce industrial plant.

"National accord is necessary -- this opinion is very popular in the society", GLOS PRACY trade union daily wrote in a front page comment. Such (?is the) keynote of the statements quoted by the daily. A worker from the [word indistinct] equipment factory said: "Accord is necessary, and it has to be based on the principle of proportional participation of the main social forces. Life proves that the formula of agreement (?between the) leadership of the main forces in the country is becoming less and less possible. So we have to try to construct the agreement starting from the grassroot level".

"Latest developments in the country prove that there are forces which aim at burying the last chance of saving Poland" ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote. The daily quoted a colonel and war veteran as saying: "An unequivocal self-definition was pronounced, and the game started to be played with the cards on the table." He added: "We (war veterans) are against anarchy, intimidation and spreading terror among honest citizens." Said another officer: "The scenario of taking over power is becoming more and more obvious". "A front of national accord is the only way for us today... It is high time we start a pitiless struggle with those forces which made an anti-socialist programme their banner and are pushing the country to a catastrophe", a young officer stated.

DZIENNIK LUDOWY wrote that "now and again various Solidarnosc links are playing the war drums. It should be then explicitly said what the fate prepared by Poles for the Poles is to look like. We expect that Solidarnosc National Commission due to meet on December 11-12 will take a clear stand".

TRYBUNA LUDU on Conference

PM101305 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 81 p 2

["DIK" report: "Frankness Which Must Horrify... What They Are Really After"]

[Text] The situation in our country has obviously become more acute in recent days. NSZZ Solidarity leaders' response to the national accord concept, formulated by the party accepted during the memorable meeting of relief by almost the entire community, has been an unprecedented attack against everything connected with this idea.

That nervous reaction expressed in Solidarity leaders' recent statements -- especially during a meeting of the National Commission [KK] Presidium in Radom, in which regional chairmen also participated -- has exposed the objectives toward which that "trade union" is striving. These objectives have nothing in common with any constructive activities which could put a brake on the current crisis and make it possible to extricate ourselves from the economic abyss. They can be described in short as follows: We must take power regardless of cost. Let the nation pay for this with its suffering provided only that the trade union emerges victorious from this trial of strength.

Solidarity leaders have reached the conclusion that this aim can be achieved only through confrontation with the constitutional authorities. Tactics for the trade union are being prepared in which the national interests are not taken into account -- the nation is only to serve as an object of manipulation by those who regard themselves as the future rulers of an obviously nonsocialist Poland.

It is not surprising that the trade union leaders do not speak aloud about this. However, as a result of their self-assurance expressed among other things by their inclination to share their thoughts with other people at various public meetings, it has been possible to recreate fragments of their statements and present their current views. Polish radio listeners were able to familiarize themselves with some of them yesterday.

Is Confrontation Unavoidable?

Yes! -- NSZZ Solidarity leaders say -- it is unavoidable. Lech Walesa sees this more or less as follows:

...Confrontation is unavoidable and will take place. People should be made aware of this right now. I wanted to reach this confrontation in a natural way when virtually all social groups would be with us, but I have miscalculated because I thought that we would ensure further and that we would then overthrow those Sejm, those councils and so forth. It appears however, that we can no longer progress using such tactics. Therefore, we are choosing a path with a view to making a maneuver with lightning speed. Either with us or without us....

Walesa was profuse in his apologies to his colleagues.

...For it has become clear that Mr Gwiazda ceased to be a member of the executive not because our aims differ. We differed only insofar as his path and the path of Jan [presumably a reference to Jan Rulewski] require that tanks, aircraft and other things be taken immediately and obviously, they are right. We will win, but we did not want to pay the highest price. Obviously, in the end, it is possible to win this contest without paying anything at all. It is a question of ensuring that the price paid is the lowest possible....

...It must be determined today what there is to be for the people what we cannot give up and what path we should choose. Obviously, a general strike today would be a stupid act, and things should be done differently.... At the same time, I believe that we must not let ourselves be carried away by imagination and excitement because if we did that we could again get a bloody nose. This occurred, for instance in Warsaw yesterday (a reference to the clearing of WOSP [Higher Officers' Firefighting School] -- DIE's annotation.) We could have started shouting loud, organized another November insurrection and called for scythes. This would have certainly been very pretty, but we would have lost. Well, even the world would have said that this was the way things are everywhere -- the Ministry of Internal Affairs -- because this is somehow looked at from a different viewpoint, and so forth... [sentence as published] It was a good thing that we did not let ourselves be carried away by excitement, but the community must now be told that a confrontation is indispensable and about the role we would like it to play....

Not everybody shared Walesa's skepticism with respect to a general strike. Seweryn Jaworski, for instance, believes that in the event of a law on a state of emergency being adopted it will be necessary to start strike action immediately, and his Mazowsze region will undoubtedly do so. If you retreat even one step, he threatened Walesa, I personally will cut your head off, and if I do not do it, someone else will.

There is no doubt as to who wants confrontation. K. Modzelewski mentioned this with brutal frankness when he referred to Jaworski who, as we know, was detained at the time when the WOSP was cleared. Seweryn is sitting here, he said: If they wanted confrontation they would just have arrested him....

About Accord -- Saying One Thing and Doing Another

Lech Walesa:...Since 1970 I have trusted no one under this system, no one in power.... We really trust no one, they really want to outmaneuver us.... After all, let us realize that we are bringing this system down. Let us at last realize this. If we agree to have private storekeepers, buy state farms up and ensure complete self-management, this system will cease to exist. So let us not deceive ourselves. It has been obvious right from the beginning that a struggle would take place and it has merely been a question of choosing our methods to ensure that as many people as possible understood what this struggle is about. We should not say aloud that a confrontation is unavoidable. In such talks it is merely a question of who outsmarts whom, but we are outsmarting ourselves. We must say: We love you, we love socialism and the party and, obviously the Soviet Union but at the same time we must keep doing our work through faits accomplis and wait....

...Let us not deceive ourselves -- right from the beginning it has been a question of thumbing our noses, and I was fully aware of this even though I kept quiet about it, but today things have reached such a point that I see no other way out -- people must be taken into confidence to some extent and told what game we are playing. They should be told that we are playing for such high stakes that we are changing realities in general and this game can only end in one way. No change of system can take place without blows being exchanged. Well, nothing doing -- it is merely a question of winning....

...Obviously I am in favor of an accord, but this matter must be discussed. What kind of accord? Any national unity front, any one-seventh share is out of the question. I really believe that if it were a question of a threesome -- not a threesome as such but three mainstreams which would appoint their representatives, a few advisers and a few activists, with a view to resolving various problems -- that solution would be accepted. But I am not interested in any ZSL, any Pax or any Industrial Branch Trade Unionists....

The Most Attractive Slogans

The trade union's tactics emerged during this "creative" discussion. They were formulated by its adviser and leading strategist Jacek Kuron. He stressed the view that the confrontation area should include the question of elections of a new election procedure, of complete opposition to the so-called government provisional arrangement and a "state of emergency." According to that expert, skillful juggling with the last mentioned concept can make the community adopt an appropriate attitude. These three slogans will be most attractive, he stated with self-assurance.

According to trade union strategists however it is already necessary to prepare the ground by rendering the authorities powerless. Jan Rulewski, for instance, believes that it is necessary to launch an attack against voivodship authorities regardless of the cost in order to discredit them completely before elections. They should be confronted with many such subjects such as housing and food, for instance, and their representatives should be brought to meetings of workforces in enterprises. At such meetings the role of trade union activists would be limited to pointing at the mayor [prezydent] or voivoda as the people who must reply to all questions.

He believes that people would attack the voivoda and that trade union activists would make capital out of this by discrediting all the lowest grade authorities. This action should be started immediately in all regions. Voivodship authorities should be drawn into various subjects, discussions should be started immediately in all regions. Voivodship authorities should be drawn into various subjects, discussions should be organized in communes [gminy] and cities and peasants should be set against officials. Let them occupy commune offices if they want to.

Similar views were expressed by Radom region chairman A. Sobieraj. According to his plan, Solidarity groups should begin taking over some administrative activities and remove city and voivodship authorities regardless of cost. They should make the public realize that those authorities are incapable of doing anything.

However, it is necessary to start deciding now who is to replace the discredited regional authorities. Members of the trade union executive body have a recipe for this which was most clearly expressed by Lower Silesia region leader W. Frasyniuk, according to whom it is necessary to build up the trade union apparatus to eventually take over positions in the administration. And Mr Nowicki chimed in: It is necessary to start training people immediately and energetically, organize trade union meetings and as many sitz baths as possible and train trade union cadres.

Furthermore, Nowicki sees these matters not only in terms of regional administration but also in terms of enterprises. Well trained trade union activists will join self-managing bodies and "sweep full-time party members out of enterprises."

Strong-Arm Squads Are Necessary

We need a force, the trade union leaders gathered in Radom stated. G. Palka believes that the party can postpone the confrontation because it has force on its side, whereas Solidarity has none. This is why it is necessary to create a so-called workers' militia or worker guard in enterprises which would consist of groups of 10, 100 and 1,000 people led by foremen, wearing helmets and armed with sticks. Some forerunners of such formations already exist in some regions. They are in no way of a defensive nature. A. Sobieraj reported that the current conflict at Radom Higher School of Engineering [WSI] will be resolved by a 200-strong group of workers who will be detailed from enterprises and will wheelbarrow Rector Hebda out of the WSI. Z. Bujak announced that the workers' militia's immediate activities will be aimed at "liberating the Radio Committee [radiokomitet]."

Task: Provisional Government

It has finally become clear how some Solidarity leaders imagine the role of a so-called national economic social council [SRGN]. Despite all protestations, it is to be an organ of social control. Zbigniew Bujak, stated openly: An SRGN must be set up immediately. It will be a kind of national provisional government. Solidarity Poznan region leader Rozwalak put it even more bluntly -- it is necessary to make the public realize that the government cannot be trusted. It is necessary to finally bring the government down, lay it bare and deprive it of any credibility. And to create an SRGN immediately.

And, finally, Jan Rulewski, who explained his concepts quite openly: We must ask ourselves how elections to the Sejm can be soonest ensured, summarily.... We are fighting to set up a provisional government which would stabilize the country until elections are held, because without stabilization no elections will go the way we want them to go....

Referring to the situation prevailing in 1947, he exclaimed: "Let us create something similar to the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]!

...The coming 6 months are needed to ensure a provisional arrangement in the country, but not in the form recently suggested by government circles. The coming 6 months of stabilization will make it possible to set up a provisional government which is to be a nonparty government. Such government should adopt the tactics of the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] and not those of the Confederation for an Independent Poland -- tactics based not on the openness of contrary political programs but on taking over, hindering and laying bare the party's activities....

Rulewski even distributes seats in parliament. According to his concept, a newly-elected Sejm could be constituted as follows: The PZPR would receive 30 percent of the seats, the ZSL and the SD jointly 25 percent, a homogeneous Solidarity 25 percent, and the remainder of the seats would be divided among the Confederation for an Independent Poland, ZNAK and "the rest." This would mean that the PZPR would retain its leading role in the Sejm but in order to force through its policies would have to secure their acceptance by other groups.

As a politician should, the Solidarity Bydgoszcz leader also takes international realities into account. In his opinion, the Soviet Union is anxious to see Solidarity and the entire nation become the guarantors of minimum Soviet interests in Poland. And he magnanimously grants it the right to "military bases on Poland's territory and lines of communication."

Not Much on the Subject of the Party

Showing off his familiarity with "international realities," J. Rulewski stated authoritatively that the concept of accord has been devised by Russia and that Russia, the USSR, has also devised the concept of an accord between Schmidt and Erich Honecker.

Central Committee Secretary Stefan Olszowski was then discussed. KK Deputy Chairman Krupinski devoted his remarks to him. He stated that "Olszowski's speeches should be brought into relief.... In a few months' time we will have trade union publications -- for all this will be published -- and as soon as these publications appear an attack should be launched against Olszowski. Secretary Olszowski will be attacked because of his statement that there will be war in the party's defense, and all his other speeches will be enumerated and appropriately selected quotations mentioned...."

In short -- skillful manipulation. As for the question of the probity of the methods used, that is unimportant. This was expressed most bluntly by Z. Bujak who stated that it is necessary to prepare for a confrontation and select the ground on which it is to take place. Speaking ironically, he added that it is necessary to act according to the following principle: "An appropriate clause will always be found with respect to a guilty person, and a guilty person will always be found to whom an existing clause can be applied...."

In the Defense of...a Vision

You may wonder what is the reason for such radicalization? You may find an answer to this question in, for instance, K. Modzelewski's speech:

The trade union has not become stronger, it has become weaker. Much weaker, and all activists are aware of this.... There are several reasons for this -- weariness as a result of the crisis, weariness experienced by people waiting at the end of a line. Some people blame us for the prolongation of this state of affairs and want us to reach an agreement. And some other people are against us for the same reasons -- crisis-weariness, lack of prospects and political radicalization. These people say: Let us opt for action, go the whole way, we have no longer anything to consider....

Or in a speech by P. Kosmowski, who stated that the vision presented by Solidarity to the community is not materializing. Therefore, he warned, it is necessary to go the whole way, because otherwise the people will call activists to account.

Is it necessary to reveal the real aims of some leading Solidarity activists more clearly than they themselves reveal them?

Walesa a 'Cheat, Provocateur'

AU110832 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Dec 81 p 3

[M.N. article: "The Great Swindle"]

[Excerpts] The recent Radom session of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium was also attended by Solidarity regional chairmen. The tactics and strategy of the Solidarity leadership in the present country's situation were the most important matter discussed at the session. Those discussing this issue concluded that the time has come for them to publicly reveal their true political faces and to begin an open battle for an aim that has so far been more or less concealed: to overthrow the socialist state's power apparatus and to set up a new sociopolitical and economic order.

One of the schemes to promote the concealed aim of the Solidarity extremists was the proposal to set up the social council for the national economy, which was going to be their form of government over the government of the socialist state. This crafty trick has misfired, and the political adventurists have become nervous. Actually they are becoming more nervous than up to mid-year because they expected that the PZPR would go to pieces at its ninth extraordinary congress. But things turned out otherwise: The party emerged strengthened from the congress. The successive Central Committee plenums have reaffirmed the resolve to consistently fight to implement the program for overcoming the crisis and for carrying out economic reform. At the same time, in a large proportion of the production enterprises Solidarity workers are tending to normalize the situation and to engage in peaceful work as provided for by the social contracts signed 15 months ago.

All that is putting the Solidarity leadership ill at ease, and it was precisely at the 3 December session of the National Commission Presidium that it revealed its aims. Anyone who has analyzed the activities of the extremists in the National Commission must have discerned the antisocialist aims they tried to implement in a partially secret manner. However, most people believed that the Solidarity leadership's aim was the concern for correctly solving the working people's social and communal affairs. Unfortunately, all that was just illusions which the Radom session helped to disperse.

It is no wonder that the political adventurists, whom we have known for several months now, have reaffirmed that they regard Solidarity as merely a protective shield for their antistate activities. However, one is bound to be astonished by Lech Walesa's views. "Confrontation is inevitable and will take place. It is necessary to make the people realize that we are unable to prevent confrontation," he said unambiguously; that is, he revealed the true aim of his activities in the past 15 months.

Why has he been saying something else up to now? "Gwiazda has left the board not because we differ on policy," Walesa explained. "Our difference is that his road and that of Jan Rulewski calls for an immediate employment of tanks, planes and other things." And what about Walesa's road? "Let us not delude ourselves," he replied. "There has been beating about the bush from the very beginning and I have been completely aware of this, but I have said nothing because I wanted to continue the game. However, there is no other way out today.... We have to tell the people what our game is, that our stakes are very high, that we are changing reality and that this game cannot end otherwise," except in confrontation.

This makes the situation transparent, and it is proper to state on behalf of the author of "beating about the bush" that he has perfidiously swindled the members of the workers Solidarity and that for 15 months grossly slandered the state authorities, constantly accusing them of organizing provocations against Solidarity -- in order to liquidate it. The fact is that he has brutally trampled upon the social accords he signed with his own hand on 31 August 1980. By his conduct he has proved that is a great cheat [oszust] and provocateur and that he uses the gross principle of "catch the thief!" He "wanted to continue to play the game," but there is no way out today because his chum Seweryn Jaworski (and perhaps other extremists as well) threatened him at the Radom session: "If you retreat just a step I will cut off your head myself...." And the notorious Zbigniew Bujak has already stipulated the ways in which political adversaries would be disposed of in line with the principle: "Just point out the guilty and I will find the necessary penal paragraphs for him and vice versa."

Such are those alleged indefatigable fighters for the truth, for rights -- which should be no more than rights -- for social justice and for great humanist ideals.

'Attempt on Socialism'

AU151610 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Dec 81 p 3

[Norbert Michta article: "Attempts Against Socialism"]

[Excerpts] If anyone had any doubts of the Solidarity leadership's true intention to take over power in Poland and to change the political system, he should have no illusions on this score following the Radom session of the National Commission Presidium.

It is true that the Solidarity program adopted by the first Solidarity congress and, especially, the sixth chapter of the program entitled "A Self-Governing Republic," quite openly indicated such a takeover, but many people viewed such indications as so many words that would be followed by commonsense and prudence, and thought that a sense of responsibility for the fate of the state and people would overcome the pathological ambitions of the pretenders to power. Even some party journalists have tried, for the same reasons, to find similarities and even identities between some formulations adopted by the PZPR and the Solidarity congress.

However, the Solidarity leaders have responded to the Sejm appeal to stop the ruinous strikes, and to the PZPR's proposal to set up the front of national accord in order to overcome the crisis by the joint efforts of the Polish patriots respecting our Constitution, by releasing a veritable flood of antinational and antiparty leaflets, slogans, posters and banners demanding "access to the mass media," but actually designed to escalate social tensions.

So far the various counterrevolutionaries and the adventurist antisocialist forces of Solidarity have not succeeded in implementing their plan for totally paralyzing the life of the state and disrupting the party. On the contrary, following the fourth and sixth party plenums, the front of the defense of socialism is beginning to gain strength, and the people are awaiting decisive measures to prevent the intensifying anarchy in the economy and social life.

On 3 December the National Commission Presidium held a session with Solidarity regional chairmen attending. The session was held in an atmosphere of angry fury because of the various discomfitures suffered by Solidarity (for example, in Lubogora and because Solidarity's authority has declined at home and abroad as a result of the Solidarity leadership's adventurist policy). The position taken by the National Commission amounts actually to an open struggle to overthrow the socialist government. The Solidarity leadership rejected the party's and the government's offer for cooperation, and embarked on the road of confrontation. Society and all the people were able to realize the danger hanging over Poland when they listened to the counterrevolutionary speeches made at that Radom session, speeches almost dripping with blood, especially in the cases of Rulewski, Jaworski, Sobieraj and Bujak. The first one said that the front of national accord is Russia's invention and proposed the formation of a provisional government, distributing in advance the posts and seats in the new Sejm for Solidarity, the Confederation for an Independent Poland and for... the party "in order to safeguard the Soviet interests in Poland." Jaworski threatened Walesa that he would cut off his head if he retreated even a pace. Sobieraj dreams about using factory work forces as terror squads and workers militia for battle against the party and government. These squads and militia would have to cart Rector Hebda out of the Radom Higher School of Engineering and "free the Radio Committee." According to Rulewski, such "combat groups" of about 200-300 peasants should be set up to take over power in rural parishes. Bujak called for "finally overthrowing the government," and repeated this almost word for word at the 5-6 December plenary session of the Masovia Solidarity group, saying that Solidarity "has nothing to lose." Walesa also revealed his true face by considering confrontation inevitable and proposing a "blitz maneuver" to overthrow the "present Sejm and People's Councils...."

Our people have gone through many experiences in their history, have suffered much and have shed much blood unnecessarily. A threat of a civil war is now hanging over Poland, a war that the madmen who put their own pathological ambitions and interests before the fate of the people want to unleash. However, we hope that the workers class will not allow this and will stop the counterrevolutionaries. We hope that the peasants and the young generation will wake up and will tame and isolate the adventurists and blackguards from society. We hope that the patriotic and commonsense intelligentsia will not support them. Poland is and will be a socialist state in the family of the fraternal countries and within the Warsaw Pact. Our party, the people's power bodies and the armed forces will protect our threatened national interests and will defend socialism "in the same way as independence is defended." It is "5 to 12" and high time for every citizen of the Polish People's Republic to fully realize the nature of the tragedy that the Solidarity leaders want to bring down on our country.

'Challenging' the Government

AU101550 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Dec 81 p 3

[Jerzy Rulicz article: "Throwing the Dice"]

[Text] Once again the government has been challenged, but this time -- in view of the burgeoning agreement -- this challenge is exceptionally lighthearted, arrogant and mad in the case of Solidarity, dangerous to society and disastrous for the country's future. The position taken by Solidarity during the Radom session of the Presidium, expanded by the presence of regional leaders, amounts to that challenge. This means that preparations have been announced for war, which Solidarity does not want to avoid because the government side has put forward unacceptable conditions.

This means that the idea of national agreement has been decisively rejected and the state of tension has been raised. Now it is less important how the government reacts, because it is common knowledge that its room for maneuvering in this situation is small. All those who think that the government, the party and the forces of socialism will give in are very much mistaken. Unfortunately, their potential ability is estimated in line with their inclination to compromise. How illusory this is on the part of the other side! However, in order to avoid a tragedy, society's response to the Solidarity leadership's decisive endeavor to give battle will be far more important for the country's fate. I think that the present situation is different than it was a year ago, and that most our people will take the right view of the sides' intentions and will join the side that sincerely wants agreement. This is the only hope, and if it fails it will mean that we have lost our instinct of self-preservation and that events will be against us. I believe -- despite everything -- that this will not happen.

I base my trust on many premises, above all on the wish for agreement by increasingly larger sections of our society, as attested to by society's lively response to the idea of the front of national accord. The PZPR, ZSL and the Democratic Party as well nonparty Catholics, workers, peasants and the intelligentsia want agreement. Nor do I believe that the 9 million Solidarity members want confrontation. Lech Walesa said: "Confrontation is inevitable and there will be confrontation." I do not think that the Solidarity masses want that. The Solidarity leader says: "Either with me or without me," which shows that rank-and-file members and society do not count. This arrogance, I hope, will bring about a situation in which the reckless ones will remain in isolation. Jaworski threatens Walesa that if he backs out "his head will be cut off." On the other hand, evaluating the platform of agreement, Walesa admits that "no ZSL, no Pax and no Industrial Branch Trade Unions interest me."

It is undisputably true that our society greatly needs peace and law and order. It is also true that the Solidarity leadership has now taken action to prevent such peace. The time has come to tell society about this without beating around the bush. Preparations for confrontation have not begun in order to safeguard Solidarity, but in order to "render power helpless." Blows and provocations have been going on for some time now in an exceptionally perfidious manner so that the government's every decisive response could be presented as an attack against Solidarity and democratic freedoms. Solidarity functionaries may engage in setting up illegal political parties and their own terror squads [bojowki]. For example, if a terror squad pasting antistate and antisocialist posters is apprehended, immediately cries are raised that this threatens Solidarity's basic interests. But when Solidarity functionaries illegally try to pull out PZPR factory committees in an atmosphere of enormous psychological terror, such actions are considered normal and doing no harm to the mood of agreement. Who has empowered the Solidarity leadership to protect illegal organizations and to set up terror squads in line with the classical fascist model, which, equipped with clubs and protective helmets, stand guard over the people who paste posters and paint slogans in the streets? Should a house owner try to oppose such activities, he would soon be facing a club. And when it happens that a militia patrol tries to persuade the rogues in question that the rule of law prevails in Poland, Solidarity soon raises a noise countrywide that it has been threatened and announces a possible strike.

In Radom they said that the terror squads would be expanded, and described how they would be used in the near future: 200 persons armed with clubs would solve the Radom problem! This is what is awaiting the country if society fails to respond at once. It seems that it is high time to make very short shrift of various terror groups and chase them off the streets. If we fail to do this, there will be even more of those squads in the streets. The manner of action as announced in Radom by members of the Solidarity Workers Committee (KR) is bound to be liked by all kinds of social scum. This manner will be turned against citizens. It is usual for fascism to use its clubs on the recalcitrants. Crime is increasing violently, and this is especially true of robberies and burglaries. We must raise the alarm because citizens' security is being threatened. The West German Frankfurter ALLEGEMEINE ZEITUNG, which has little sympathy for the Polish Government, wrote in connection with the militia action in the fire officers' school in Warsaw that this had to happen because the "state that in the long run comes to terms with various violations of the rule of law puts itself in a questionable position." There are no question marks any more. Radom has made everything clear.

The Solidarity National Commission and the chairman of the Solidarity regional boards take the view that the law on the extraordinary action measures will not be implemented except by terror, and themselves continue massive terror to prevent this law. I think that our society should consider that the law in question is designed not only as a weapon against the activities that undermine our economy, but also against the terror that has spread throughout the country in various forms. The strike terror is running riot in Poland. A minority is terrorizing the majority and is threatening sanctions to produce the nervous breakdown of those who have the courage to stand up in opposition. That is why in such a mood it is relatively easy to organize a strike for just any silly reason and to coerce the government to make concessions which -- let us be frank -- are not always realizable.

At present, student strikes are running riot. An agreement was signed in Lublin, but its contents are questionable. In a few days the most dangerous weapon of terror -- a general strike -- is to be proclaimed. But what about the country, its economy and its efforts to overcome the crisis? The Solidarity leadership has rejected the systemic provisional measures and has not accepted the government's economic reform draft, although Solidarity representatives participated in preparatory work. Does that which Solidarity offers in exchange express all our society's feelings and demands? Of course not. Solidarity now makes light not only of the government; it makes light of the Sejm, having announced its future composition, and makes light of all our society, although it tries to speak on its behalf.

The idea of the front of national accord has been unambiguously rejected. Mr Walesa has said that "there is no agreement because there is no one to agree with." Is that so? Not even with the church, the nonparty people and other social forces? If so, then why participate in the meeting with Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and Primate Jozef Glemp? Mr Walesa has conceded that "all that was juggling all along." Does this mean that only one partner has been made light of? This was to be expected. After all, when Lech Walesa attended the Warsaw meeting the first resolutions were adopted in Gdansk to create much doubt as to Solidarity's intentions concerning agreement. One could imagine what would happen in Poland and how Solidarity's propaganda would react if the premier said what Lech Walesa said. What would happen if the government sent an ultimatum to Solidarity? How would the public react if the resolution of the sixth party plenum contained a sentence that there is no one to agree with? After all, it is Solidarity that has recently intensified its attacks against the party, and many local functionaries have had good reasons to doubt the idea of agreement. Nevertheless, the party has maintained its line of dialogue. It is interesting whether -- following the proclamation of the position of the National Commission Presidium and the regional chairmen -- people will continue to believe that Solidarity is keener on agreement than the government and the PZPR.

Solidarity leaders are so sure of themselves, of their strength and of the support of Solidarity members and sections of society that they make us frightened of their lightmindedness and shortsightedness. They fail to appreciate the party's potential abilities and ignore the views of other political parties and social groups. They do not respect their partners and refuse to listen to warnings and cautions. It is probably for this reason that they have challenged not only General Jaruzelski's government, but also other sociopolitical forces.

The announcement of a general strike amounts to a promise of total war. The government wants to avoid this and, as is obvious from the statement made by the government spokesman, is ready to continue to implement the idea of agreement with those, of course, who want it. In view of that, who will want to join the adventurers in their battle? We will soon get the answer to this question and then we will know whether there will be confrontation. Today, when unacceptable conditions have been put forward, there is little the government can do. It is high time for society to make its choice. Without social support the government will not guarantee peace. Solidarity is incapable of being in power. The party will concede its place to no one. Poland must be socialist. All those who still have doubts must realize all that. Difficult days are coming, but I hope that he who throws the dice will choke on them.

Solidarity 'Excesses' Scored

AU101740 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Dec 81 p 2

[Col W. Zielinski article: "Models That Deserve Congratulations"]

[Text] The fact that many current Solidarity leaders regarded the protest last August of the working masses against the excesses of the past decade as a prelude to a battle for authority has been no secret for a long time. What makes the matter more annoying is that the "leaders" of the central or regional union echelons could no longer take the strain and often expressed their ideas on the way power in the country should be taken over frequently, loudly and publicly.

The current talks between the National Commission Presidium and the leaders of regional Solidarity administrations have confirmed this fact. Power is to be taken over by a political or armed coup d'etat -- that is what was most frequently said in Radom. At the same time, in an official statement Solidarity leaders accused the government of breaching the idea of national accord.

This is not the first time Solidarity leaders have shown this sort of acrobatics and juggling. It is enough to look into any issue of the Solidarity weekly, even issue No 35.

Let us take at least the first paragraph of the article "Privileges" in which we read: "Privileges concern not only, or maybe not even above all, material goods. We are dealing with the privileges of making decisions not based on social control, with the privilege of not having responsibility, the privilege of information and the privilege of expressing valid opinions...."

It is enough to scrawl something (for instance on a wall with red paint) and straightaway we have a living picture of new, up-and-coming celebrities -- the sponsors of the Solidarity weekly, with the salaries they earn, which have exceeded several times the national average during the course of several months, with their luxury cars, from which some have already learned not to get out until the chauffeur opens the door, and of course with all the indispensable perks, secretaries and so on. I have the impression that they are already catching up to the former, dethroned celebrities, and with the speed at which they are doing so they will even overtake them soon.

Well, let us take the remaining privileges: decisionmaking outside social control, lack of responsibility, information, expressing valid opinions! I can give the most recent examples. On 30 November in Katowice a meeting of delegates from the Silesia-Dabrowa region of Solidarity took place. At the motion of its chairman, Wojciech Figl, and Presidium member Tadeusz Burakowski, representatives of TRYBUNA LUDU, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, PAP and DZIENNIK ZACHODNI were deprived of their credentials and asked to leave the hall. Do we not have in this case a typical example of the privilege of information, shared in certain cases even with representatives of Western press agencies?

The privilege of imposing valid opinions is duplicated in hundreds of thousands of handouts and posters. What has not already appeared in them and what is missing? I bandy the words "truth" and "lies" about with particular fondness. Everything that is said by Solidarity representatives is of course "truth."

Therefore, it is "true" that Solidarity celebrities do not want and even cannot stand strikes and are against them. Unfortunately, what can the poor fellows do when strikes break out spontaneously? They greatly resist accepting leadership of strikes and even look on it with disgust. Only it is funny that they are always on hand. For example, that is how it was during the strike at the firefighting school where Seweryn Jaworski from the "Mazowsze" Solidarity appeared with lightning speed, together with a large train of bodyguards who were supposed to defend the students. As representatives of Solidarity's national firefighting section told reporters, the Mazowsze region of Solidarity and the national firefighting section had been against strike action, although they resolutely supported the students' demands. This is indeed odd. How can an opponent of aggression resolutely support the demands of aggressors, or how can someone opposed to price rises resolutely support them who demand them?

But can someone who advocates the smudging and pasting over of windows and walls with various defamatory drawings and captions be a resolute opponent of these methods? It appears that he can, judging from some of the gentlemen of Solidarity! I can give an example from Skarzysko-Kamienna. As it appears from information given by the press, Solidarity's representation for the Kielce region is housed in what used to be the "Kaprys" coffeehouse. In November the windowpanes of the building were covered with defamatory drawings and captions. Solidarity protested vehemently against this, of course calling on all the inhabitants of the town. It is also demanding detailed investigations by the Citizens' Militia to discover the offenders. At the same time, the walls and shop windows of Skarzysko-Kamienna like those in, say, Warsaw, Lodz, Kutno, Pila and hundreds of other towns, even the walls of historic buildings in Krakow which have recently been renovated, are completely smeared and coated with slogans signed by Solidarity! But let someone demand that those responsible be brought to justice! He would be in for trouble, because in their opinion, Solidarity leaders already have the privilege of going unpunished and at the same time not being responsible.

Besides, in Chorzow the station master's deputy, Wladyslaw Staron, together with his friend tried to stop Solidarity people and their allies from the Confederation for an Independent Poland from defacing things. For this he was beaten up and smeared with paint. Thanks to the intervention of the Citizens' Militia, the entire group of defacers was arrested, but not without active struggle on their part. What was the outcome? One person who had been roughly treated found himslef in hospital, while some complained that their legs were aching. On the same day the regional administration announced its readiness to strike, protesting against the arrest of the guilty persons. However, this very same regional administration somehow did not protest against the fact that W. Staron had been beaten up, nor did it demand that he be put in a hospital, nor did it offer to replace his ruined coat with a new one or compensate him for his moral losses, as some regions of Solidarity demand even in the least documented of cases. Neither does it show any desire to punish those who beat up W. Staron nor demand some measure of justice. If only it would!

The celebrities of Silesia-Dabrowa regional administration are evidently of the opinion that the defacers and the "club-bearers" attached to their home front should also take advantage of the privileges of both going unpunished and not being responsible. As the author of the article "Privileges" in the Solidarity weekly rightly noticed: "The front line of the ruling group (in Solidarity -- ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI) also comprises circles which guarantee to those elected the realization of their privileges day to day, and thanks to this they themselves achieve the rank of the privileged"!

As results from the Radom talks, Solidarity's club-bearing home front is to be expanded these days. For example, G. Palka has demanded outright the formation of squads armed with clubs and helmets. Together with this he proposes an organizational structure on the lines of the Ukrainian fascist bands -- the Ukrainian guerrilla army, that is to say squads of tens, hundreds and thousands.

Nothing remains to be done except to congratulate Mr Palka and company; they are models of ideology and organization....

Desire for Power Criticized

LD101222 Warsaw PAP in English 1130 GMT 10 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (PAP) -- Referring to the Radom resolutions of Solidarnosc leaders, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote today:

"The political evolution of Solidarnosc, as it revealed the character and role of the opposition and extremist groups in the leadership, has tended to move the union farther and farther away from the practice of agreement, negotiations and dailogue, and towards actions calculated to provoke confrontation. Very often it was done against the will of a majority of its members and true unionists.

"Today, after the meeting in Radom of the National Commission's Presidium and Solidarnosc regional chairman, the intentions are clear. The brutal and undisguised message brought home is that Soliarnosc wants power at all cost, even at the price of fraternal blood."

In a commentary on the same subject, TRYBUNA LUDU said:

"The charm of propaganda and publications inspired by part of the leadership of various Solidarnosc chapters increasingly relies on the fact that black is called white. And this is stated with authority, not admitting a shade of doubt. Suffice to read the pamphlets, posters and slogans pasted on walls."

"Solidarnosc leaders demonstrate constant concern over their popularity. They are craving for social applause. And this is most easily gained through negation, through a resounding 'no', disguised in ever new attire.

"But how much longer can this 'no' continue when more and more people in Poland begin to realize that such posture can only lead to catastrophe? Still, many Solidarnosc leaders seem to be totally unperturbed about this. As can be judged by the voices from Radom, which the whole country has heard, the simple conclusion reached there is that the [word indistinct] for the catastrophe, can always be laid at the door of the party and the authority, while the union will remain 'clean'. Will it?"

Solidarity 'Radomgate'

PM101237 Paris LE MONDE in French 9 Dec 81 p 3

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Primate Asks Deputies To Reject Bill on Emergency Powers'"]

[Text] Warsaw -- When they switched on their radios early on Monday 7 December the Poles could scarcely believe their ears. Mr Walesa's voice was ringing out on those wavelengths so carefully guarded by Propaganda Secretary Olszowski. "I no longer have any illusions," he said. "Things have gone so far that the people must be told everything, told what is at stake, that it is nothing less than changing the situation. No system can be changed without trouble. The main thing is to win."

It was not a pirate broadcast by the trade union but a broadcast recording of the Solidarity leadership's meeting in Radom last Thursday -- a broadcast decided on after serious consideration in high places. The previous day the government had forcibly evicted the striking fire cadets from their school.

Some 5 days earlier there had been the plenum and its resolution on "emergency measures." The meeting was stormy. The atmosphere was one of counterattack. Mr Walesa wants both to avoid losing control of his apparatus and to prevent a "piece of stupidity" -- the immediate launching of a strike.

Hence these remarks: "Confrontation is inevitable, and it will take place. I wanted to reach that point by natural means, when all the social groups were behind us. But I miscalculated because I thought that we could wait for these Sejms and councils to fall of their own accord. As it has turned out, we are getting nowhere with those tactics."

He explained that there is no fundamental disagreement with more radical leaders like Mr Gwiazda and Mr Rulewski, but only disagreements on method, because they think that "we are sure of victory, but we must not pay too high a price for it," he added.

Then he said: "I have not believed in anybody who collaborates with this system since 1970. They want to trick us. They realize that if we implement our program, if we distribute the state farms' land to the private peasants and form self-management committees everywhere, we will destroy their system....

"It was clear from the start that a battle could not be avoided and that it is necessary to choose the means which will make society understand it. We must not openly say: Confrontation is inevitable. We must say: We love you, we love socialism and the party -- and the Soviet Union of course -- and do our work by faits accomplis and wait." He also said that he wants a national accord, but one with the church and the party, not within a front in which the trade union would be engulfed.

The Warsaw Solidarity deputy chairman told him: "If you back down in the slightest, I will personally cut off your head." Mr Palka, from Lodz, proposed the formation "of workers' militia, organized and armed with helmets and clubs." Warsaw Solidarity Chairman Bujak proposed the "immediate" formation of an economic and social council which would "in a way be the provisional government."

Mr Rulewski from Bydgoszcz also advocates the formation of a provisional government and also early elections which, he explained, should produce a new Sejm in which the PZPR would be guaranteed 30 percent of the seats and the peasant and democratic parties 25 percent, with 25 percent going to Solidarity and the rest to various other political groups.

Mr Rulewski thinks it conceivable that the Soviet Union might accept the guarantees which Solidarity could give it on preserving its interests in Poland and especially its military bases and its channels of communication to the West. Mr Modzelewski from Wroclaw was the only, or almost the only person to point out that, although the population's weariness and anger is leading many people to take a more radical line and to want "all-out action," the same causes are also producing resignation and desire for peace.

Formidable Plugging

At dawn on Friday the trade unionists had agreed to stage a 24-hour strike should the law be adopted and an indefinite general strike should it be applied. Indeed, now that the party has drawn its gun, Solidarity is going likewise, but there is still time to try to avoid shooting. On Saturday Mr Walesa visited the primate twice to try to find a way of stopping the inevitable course; in other words to find a compromise to prevent the adopting of the emergency law desired by the "hardliners." On Sunday evening the government spokesman strongly attacked the trade union and asserted that the law would be passed.

On Monday the affair which was immediately named "Radomgate" erupted. The radio repeatedly broadcast the recording. The television broadcast it in conjunction with photographs of Mr Walesa holding a microphone. It was plugged in a formidable way. A section of the population (and this is to the government's advantage) will probably have been frightened to hear that there is a real threat of confrontation. However, another, possibly equally large section, vigorously applauded those strong words. But this is not the essential point: After the publicity given to these statements, it will be extremely difficult for the party liberals to advocate any compromise with the trade union. That was probably the desired effect.

Last Thursday the Sejm Presidium purely and simply sent back the government's bill, asking it to give "more details." In fact that was an attempt to play for time after the Catholic deputies, the democrats and nonparty deputies had expressed their opposition and the peasant party deputies had expressed strong reservations. The letter sent by Monsignor Glemp to the deputies on Monday -- the text of which is not yet known -- could, in these circumstances, create a new factor, extend the opposition front and spark off a resumption of negotiations. The new law on trade unions is to be passed at the next Sejm session, scheduled to be held before 15 December. This law lays down stringent restrictions on the exercise of the right to strike and authorizes the Sejm to suspend that right for a 3-month period without adopting any emergency measure. There was a compromise to be explored in that.

Now, if the first secretary fails to impose the adoption of the emergency bill he will be condemned as "weak." If he does impose it he will do so against the church, all the nonparty deputies and a trade union determined not back down in face of a threatened confrontation. Whatever happens, the situation seems very favorable to the "hardliners"; either the liberals are weakened or the party wins the confrontation, or else it loses, but in that event the "hardliners" hope that the USSR would not sit back and do nothing. On the other side, in Soldarity's ranks there is a constantly growing desire to have final explanations and to show the real balance of forces, and then to impose the "reserve Finlandization" of Poland allied to the USSR but democratic.

Over the past 15 months we have seen that nothing is ever certain in the Polish crisis. Nonetheless the situation is grave. The only really reassuring factor is that the USSR stands to gain nothing from an irremediable deterioration in the situation in Warsaw right in the middle of its "peace offensive" toward Europe. Meanwhile Mr Jurczyk, a Szczecin trade union leader, was recently found guilty of making insulting remarks about the party. The PZPR Control Commission has called for the "party's ranks to be purged of cowards." Finally the students' strike, which started on 24 November, is to end on Tuesday. The movement had been launched to secure a vote on the law on universities' autonomy and the annulment of the disputed election of a tough rector in Radom. The conference of rectors (fewer than 10 percent are PZPR members since elections have been instituted) has taken up these demands and also condemned the assault on the fire cadets school. It has also persuaded the students to resume work.

TASS Attack on Solidarity

LD111048 Warsaw PAP in English 0842 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (PAP) -- The Soviet news agency said today that "counter-revolutionary forces in Poland were widening the front of open struggle against the party, the government and socialism."

TASS also wrote that Solidarnosc regional organizations leaders started forming 250-300-man "bully groups" in works enterprises. Cases of theft of weapons and explosives are known. Members of the notorious Confederation of Independent Poland are seen in streets.

Solidarnosc, says TASS, is determined to overthrow the executive and legislative power in Poland. The calls to liquidate communists are being spread around. Next the Soviet news agency says that Solidarnosc has dispatched dozens of emissaries to industrial areas in southern Poland. They disseminate anti-goverment, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet materials and issue inflammatory statements. Attacks have been stepped up on Poland's alliance links and the demands that transport routes across Poland should be exploited to bring pressure on Poland's allies are being made. TASS also emphasized that provateurs were calling in question the existing Soviet-Polish frontier, made slanderous references to the history of Poland's liberation from the Hitlerite occupation by the Soviet Army. All that, said TASS, "evokes understandable indignation of the Soviet people."

CONFERENCE OF RECTORS ISSUES STATEMENT

LD101242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Marek Kirszke dispatch from Poznan]

[Text] The conference of higher schools rectors continued in Poznan until the early hours of this morning. Simultaneously, there was a meeting of representatives of school strike committees from the entire country.

The rectors issued an important statement for the entire student milieu. I would like to quote the most important points of it:

First, the conference states it is the sole representative, appointed by elections, of higher schools authorities, based on the draft bill on higher education dated 11 June.

Second, it acts in accordance with the bill, and has been authorized by school senates throughout the country. The conference expresses views and initiates actions in essential matters concerning students, solves disputes, and represents students before central authorities.

As well as defining the functions of the collective body, the conference expressed its views on current affairs. It expressed appreciation to students for undertaking protest action on behalf of the entire student community and emphasized that it highly appreciates the preservation of dignity and order during the strike.

The strike itself led to the submission of a draft bill on higher schools to the Sejm, increased the chances for the bill's adoption in its draft form and -- very important -- led to the integration of the national student milieu as expressed by the setting up of the conference of rectors. Furthermore, it has been stated that the form of protest has fulfilled its aim, but unfortunately at the expense of learning.

In view of the appeal by the primate of Poland, and in view of the general situation in the country, and in view of mediation action conducted by the rectors, respecting the rights of self-managing and independent student organizations to decide on their own affairs, the rectors have come to the conclusion that the form of protest should be changed. The 3 December stance concerning the Higher Engineering School in Radom and the Higher Officers' Firefighting School in Warsaw, and fate of the bill on higher schools, is upheld. It has also been confirmed that Prof Dr Col Michal Hebda is not a member of the rectors conference.

The strike situation, which is being maintained because of the lack of decision by the minister of science, higher education and technology, has led to a loss of confidence in Minister Nawrocki. The rectors propose to meet with deputies to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic in order to present their stance on the situation in higher schools and the resolutions of the conference.

The rectors have presented their views to a delegation from the school strike committees, and these also include reservations about accepting candidates for the post of minister of science, higher education and technology, and the fact that the conference assumed responsibility for the striking students.

The meetings of the two bodies will resume at 1400, and one can expect that in few hours' time the student strike will definitely end.

RURAL SOLIDARITY MAINTAINING STRIKE ALERT

LD102144 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (PAP) -- Tension in Poland's villages is not declining and all the country's Rural Solidarity organizations are maintaining their strike alert.

In some voivodships, Rural Solidarity members are continuing their sit-ins in local administration buildings. Along with general postulates the striking farmers are issuing demands [word indistinct] to local administrative units.

Other farmers' unions such as the Peasants' Solidarity of the Kujawy and Ziemia Dobrzynska regions and the Peasants' Solidarity of the Ziemia Lubelska region are also proceeding with their protest action.

The talks between a government commission and Rural Solidarity are to be resumed tomorrow in Siedlce.

SOLIDARITY'S ACTIONS INCREASE NATIONAL TENSION

LD1011156 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 10 Dec 81

["No Peace in Poland" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Dec (PAP) -- Almost daily Solidarity branches pass resolutions and issue statements which, to put it mildly, do not help to ease the tense socio-political situation in the country.

These resolutions and statements are backed up by all kinds of protest actions. Among the latest such moves is strike alert proclaimed by Solidarity at Gdynia shipyards. A vague resolution passed by the protesters gives as reason for the action the "deteriorating situation in the country," "use of provocation by the authority," and "torpedoeing of all agreement."

Another regional Solidarity chapter issued instructions to its subordinated bodies how to behave if the law giving the government special powers were passed. The instruction envisages appointment of substitute Works Commissions, preparation of medicine and food supplies and the appointment of worker guards to protect enterprises.

In another move, the Solidarity committee at the nuclear research institute in Swierk decided to hold a 4-hour strike this coming Thursday in support of actions of the Solidarity Mazowsze chapter.

Bank workers are threatening protest actions on December 10 and 17. They are going to temporarily suspend the servicing of accounts of state and local administration units and all industrial branch units, if their wages do not go up.

JABLONSKI RECEIVES LABOUR UNION DELEGATIONS

LD1011814 Warsaw PAP in English 1728 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] The PUWP first secretary, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, received a delegation of labour unions' representatives, including a group of representatives of the All-Polish Commission for the Co-operation of Branch Trade Unions and the Confederation of the Autonomous Unions.

Present at the meeting were also the chairmen of the ZNP [Polish Teachers Union] Oswiata and Nauka teachers' unions, as well as representatives of the Book Workers' Union, the Press, Radio and Television Union, the Managers' Union, the Union of the Civilian Employees of the Home Industry, Army Employees' Union and the Individual Farmers' Union subordinated to the Central Association of Farmers' Circles and Organizations.

The talks focused on the nation's most important problems connected with the aggravation of the economic and political situation of the country.

SIWAK MEETS CONSTRUCTION TU LEADERS IN PRAGUE

LD102128 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo has been in Prague. He held talks with the leadership of the Czechoslovak Trade Union of Workers in Construction. He also met members of the PZPR who are employee of Polish establishments in Prague. He spoke of the country's situation.

INDUSTRIAL TU COMMISSION CRITICIZES DRAFT TU LAW

LD102350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2230 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] The Executive Committee of the National Commission for Industrial Branch Trade Unions Cooperation discussed the draft trade union law which has been submitted to the Sejm. It has been stated that the content of the clauses of many articles of this draft law has provoked numerous comments and controversies. The fact that the draft law does not take into account the comments and proposals of the team of the national commission for Industrial Branch Trade Unions Cooperation, which was authorized to take part in the work of the Sejm commissions preparing the new draft law on trade unions, has met with particularly strong criticism. It has been decided to send an open letter on this matter to the Sejm Presidium and to the Council of State.

Discussing the sociopolitical situation, the Executive Committee of the National Commission for Industrial Branch Trade Unions Cooperation pointed out that in the 28 October statement it expressed its readiness to take part in all activities which ensure state existence for the homeland and safety, food, the possibility to work in peace and legal order for its citizens. The readiness to participate in the front of national accord was reaffirmed during the meeting with Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR, Central Committee and premier, on 4 November and at present also.

PZPR COMMITTEE ASSESSES SOCIOPOLITICAL SITUATION

LD101848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] The executive of the Warsaw PZPR Committee today assessed the current sociopolitical situation. It stated that there has been an increase in radicalism in Solidarity, and that antiparty propaganda activities and other attacks against the party are being mounted. In this connection, the executive of the Warsaw PZPR Committee has adopted a statement in which we read that a start has been made on implementing the attempts which have been announced in the past few weeks and days to oust primary party organizations from certain factories.

A referendum has been staged in this matter at the light aircraft scientific-production center. In the statement the executive of the Warsaw PZPR Committee states categorically that this is politically irresponsible activity designed to torpedo efforts aimed at creating a front of national accord. The statement says that our party and its primary links and echelons have an historical and constitutional right to exercise the leading role and that they will defend this right. This right is one of the foundations of the socialist state.

WOJNIAK DISCUSSES ECONOMIC REFORM IN PLOCK

LD102214 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] The preparation of enterprises for the introduction of the reform was discussed today in Plock, at a meeting of the voivodship's economic and political aktiv. The meeting was attended by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Woźniak. It was stated that some of the leading industrial plants in the region, for example Petrochemie and the harvesting machinery plant, have already adopted measures enabling the smooth transfer to new operational principles.

LOCAL PZPR RESOLUTION ON SOLIDARITY ADOPTED

LD1021148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] We are receiving numerous letters and Telexes in connection with the country's situation. For instance, the PZPR Warszawa Praga-Polnoc district committee has adopted a resolution which assesses the country's situation. It reads:

Counterrevolutionary Solidarity forces have made an open attack on the party and socialism. We received with indignation the content of Solidarity's deliberations in Radom and also at the general meeting of the Mazowsze region Solidarity. Processes which cause anarchy in the state, its economy and the political system are progressing. The party initiative of national accord is used by the enemies of socialism to abolish socialism.

It is essential, Warszawa Praga-Polnoc resolution continues, to use all political and legal means to stabilise the situation in the country. There is only one way: that of national accord. However, there should be no place in its for those who slander the party and who strike at socialism.

BYDGOSZCZ PZPR, ZSL HOLD JOINT SESSION 10 DEC

LD1022244 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] The sociopolitical situation in the Bydgoszcz rural areas, agriculture production results, and the political activities and economic tasks arising from them were the subject of today's joint session of the PZPR and ZSL voivodship committees in Bydgoszcz.

A lively and also critical discussion took place on basic issues such as: what conditions must be fulfilled in order for more food to be produced? The disastrous situation in agricultural supplies has been the reason why dissatisfaction and a feeling of powerlessness have been growing among farmers. The rural areas are waiting for means of production and industrial articles, including coal, machinery and fertilizers. Linked sales are being critically assessed. There was a demand to the effect that rural self-management and proper cooperation between the unions and agricultural organizations regain their appropriate status in the adoption of decisions and in the resolution of basic issues.

The joint session of the PZPR and ZSL voivodship committees in Bydgoszcz ended with the adoption of a joint resolution which embraces the demands arising from the discussion, which will be presented to the supreme authorities of both parties. The resolution also defines forms of cooperation between the PZPR and the ZSL in the Bydgoszcz rural areas, which will be even broader than to date.

JARUZELSKI MEETS ECUMENICAL COUNCIL PRESIDIUM

LD1021924 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] We have just received the news that Wojciech Jaruzelski has met the members of the Presidium of the Polish Ecumenical Council: Father Prof Witold Benedyktowicz, chairman of the council and superintendent general of the Methodist Church; Archbishop Bazyli Doroszkiewicz, deputy chairman of the council and metropolitan of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church; Father Janusz Narzynski, deputy chairman of the council and bishop of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church of the Polish People's Republic; Bishop Tadeusz Majewski, treasurer of the council and chairman of Synodal Council of the Polish Catholic Church, and Father Zdzislaw Bawik, secretary general of the council and member of the Christian Baptist Church. During the meeting the leadership of the Polish Ecumenical Council, expressing profound concern for social calm in the country, confirmed its support for the idea of the front of national accord.

ECONOMY DISCUSSED, VIEWED BY VARIOUS GROUPS

Sejm Committees View Budget

LD102208 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Adam Brinkowski report]

[Text] The Sejm Commissions for Legislative Work and for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances today examined the so-called provisional budget arrangement for 1982.

The provisional budget arrangement presented at today's session by Finance Minister Marian Krzak applies to the first 5 months of next year alone, because the situation next year is not known and will not be known definitely. The same thing applies to this year, in any case. The Sejm must examine the budget, in accordance with the Constitution, by the end of the year. The draft provisional arrangement is based on realistic assumptions and is therefore more favorable than that variation of the plan which was based on pessimistic forecasts. Spending in the first 5 months will exceed income by Z131 billion. The main items in the increased budget are the health service, social benefits, training grants and old-age and disability pensions. Finances, Minister Krzak said, must be an element of stability in the economy. A considerable amount, some Z20 billion, will be saved in making further cutbacks in spending on the administration of amalgamations, including the elimination of amalgamations.

The population's income in 1982 is to amount to Z2.3 trillion, but supplies of goods and increased services will not counterbalance these incomes. The inflationary gap may amount to Z500 billion, i.e. what it was this year.

An increase in food prices seems therefore inevitable, as well as an increase in prices for fuel, gas and electricity, passenger transportation and for radio and TV licenses. Rents in allocated dwellings [lokale kwaterunkowe] will rise. There is also talk of a stability tax and also of general application of the equalization tax, which would cover of course the population groups with the highest incomes. A certain compensation for the increase in the cost of living is supposed to be the revaluation of Polish Savings Bank deposits. That means a surcharge, a certain surcharge on the new prices for food and fuel.

The deputies received the budget forecasts with anxiety, though on the other hand, there is a chance that the situation will improve if the economic reform and especially its third important part -- self-financing -- contributes to increased production, [word indistinct] of waste and to improved productivity. The Sejm will be examining the provisional budget arrangement on 29 December at the last session of the chamber this year.

Economic Reform Drafts to Sejm

LD102142 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (PAP) -- A package of draft laws connected with the economic reform in Poland has been submitted to the Sejm. The bills on socio-economic planning, prices, authorization on running foreign trade enterprises, and state statistics were presented to the Sejm early in December. Going with them now are government draft laws on taxation for socialized economy units, on financial economy of state enterprises, on the statute of the Polish National Bank, and on the banking law.

The draft law on taxation for socialized economy units is one of the basic legal acts linked with the reform. The draft law lays down that taxes should be a major tool of indirect steering of the enterprise's economy.

The bill on financial economy in state enterprises assumes that the profit earned by the enterprise, together with the retained depreciation fund, should enable the enterprise to finance its exploitation and investment activity and repayment of bank credits if they were needed.

Subsidies from the state budget may be only a temporary and exceptional phenomenon. The enterprises will be free to use their development fund and will be able to plan their investments free from outside restrictions. The hitherto widely used practice of fund redistribution among enterprises will cease to exist.

The draft on the banking law regulates two important spheres of banking activity -- the macro- and micro-economic spheres. The first covers participation of banks in economic planning, notably the shaping of the monetary and credit policy. In its second capacity, the bank, as representative of the social interest, will act as partner to the self-managed enterprise, with which it will cooperate according to agreed terms.

The draft which provides for awarding a statute to the Polish National Bank takes into account regulations adopted in the draft on the banking law. It defines the tasks and activities of the Polish National Bank, as the central state bank, emission bank, central credit, savings, accounting and foreign exchange handling institution as well as an organ which coordinates and organises the monetary and credit activity.

The first reading of the eight draft laws connected with the economic reform will take place at the 21 December Seum session.

Economic Society on Reform

LD102206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] The Central Board of the Polish Economic Society held debates today on defining it stance on the socioeconomic situation in the country, particularly taking into account the issues of the economic reform and the principles for the activity of enterprises next year. The resolution adopted states that the economic reform should eliminate the mandatory and allocational mechanism of running the economy and should put an end to direct interventions by the administrative and political apparatus in the affairs of enterprises. The reform should also ensure that the community influences the economic policy of the state, the Polish Economic Society Central Board resolution states.

LE MONDE: GLEMP EFFORTS TO EASE TENSION

PM101529 Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Dec 81 p 3

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Monsignor Glemp Tries to Ease Tension"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Three letters, even if they are signed by the primate of the Catholic Church, are not much to prevent the trial of strength from reaching its logical conclusion: confrontation. At least three letters exist and suggest that neither Monsignor Glemp, nor General Jaruzelski, nor Mr Walesa is yet resigned to the fact that the worst is inevitable.

The first of the primate's letters sent to all deputies on Monday, 7 December, on behalf of the Episcopal conference enabled the Sejm's examination of the bill giving the government "emergency powers" to be indefinitely postponed. This bill, against which the primate warned parliament, had already encountered opposition from almost all nonparty deputies last week. Thus after the church's spectacular intervention, the government would, if it persisted in its enterprise, be heading not only for the response planned by Solidarity of a general strike but for the disapproval of all forces in Poland aside from itself.

Given this situation, the first secretary has refrained for the second time in 5 weeks from using the party's absolute majority in parliament and deliberately ignored Central Committee wishes. At the end of October, after the fourth plenum had called for a law to be passed suspending the right to strike, General Jaruzelski gave way to the Sejm's reservations and made do with a simple appeal by the deputies for strikes to end.

Today, although the Central Committee demanded an emergency law on 28 November, the agenda (published Monday) for the next two parliamentary sittings (on 15-16 December and 21 December) merely compromises the new law on trade unions and the texts on economic reform.

The same scenario has been repeated, but with the church coming onto the stage this time: the first secretary has drawn support from forces outside the party to avoid taking account of the tougher line adopted by his own apparatus and to avoid immediate confrontation with Solidarity.

Tone Mounts in Party

The apparatus, which is completely traumatized by its growing impotence, is dreaming only of a counteroffensive. The media's extensive coverage of the deliberations behind closed doors at the last Solidarity leadership meeting has further increased its fear and anger. Mr Olszowski, propaganda secretary and figurehead of the "hardliners," has seized every opportunity to make himself seen and heard over the past 2 weeks. The situation is clearly favorable to him and the tone is mounting dangerously in the party. For instance, the young communists' leadership has just published a resolution calling for an end to "the semblance of struggle against treachery and counterrevolution."

Mr Grabski, who had lost his Central Committee and Politburo places at the congress in July after trying to overthrow Mr Kania last spring, has just made a comeback with an interview to RZECZYWISTOSC, the weekly produced by the party's "ultraconservatives" which, at the last plenum, Mr Olszowski claimed to have founded. "The government," Mr Grabski said, "has done little or nothing" to oppose anarchy. "In an exceptional situation, exceptional measures are vital.... All strikes and demonstrations should be stopped for a given period and the rebellion should be stamped out.... The silent majority would accept emergency measures provided the government clearly defines their objectives. We want to finally cross this dreaded Rubicon."

This sums up what had already been heard at the last plenum. In this atmosphere, General Jaruzelski's only chance of avoiding having to resign shortly or adopt a policy other than his own would be to prove quickly to the Central Committee that temporization makes it possible to reach a modus vivendi with Solidarity. That is what he tried to do in November after Mr Kania's fall, but without success because he failed to obtain any margin for maneuver to make the concessions necessary to build a "national accord." Today the formidable pressure exerted by the hardliners is both a virtually insuperable obstacle and an advantage which could enable him to bring Solidarity to reduce its demands, going against its own grassroots.

This brings us to the primate's second letter which was addressed to the first secretary and has obviously not been published. There is reason to suppose that in it Monsignor Glemp recalled the hopes aroused by the start of negotiations on the national accord, stressed in carefully chosen terms the government's responsibility for their failure and proposed to reopen them in conditions acceptable to all interlocutors. The most important of these conditions is apparently the party's renunciation of its attempt to bind Solidarity in a "front" in which it would be completely in a minority amid forces controlled by the PZPR. Instead, a tripartite dialogue should be reopened between the party, the church and the independent trade union.

An Appeal to General Jaruzelski

In other words the primate is appealing to General Jaruzelski personally and to his Politburo friends rather than to the party first secretary. At the same time he is making it clear that there is no longer any question of resuming the hopeless game of November's pointless negotiations. There have been and still are secret contacts to establish the rules of this game going on behind the scenes, but the game is extremely hazardous. The first secretary must be able to move quickly and take big gambles. The trade union leadership for its part must also be able to guarantee him a minimum of favorable conditions for this operation. In practical terms nothing is feasible unless the fiery statements by Solidarity's grassroots and apparatus on the intention of winning the imminent confrontation are moderated and the party is thus persuaded to compromise.

This brings in the primate's third letter, which was sent to Mr Walesa and which is to be read in Gdansk on Friday, 11 December, at the opening of the 2-day Solidarity National Commission meeting. It is easy to imagine that this letter is an appeal for level-headedness and reason, aimed at persuading the trade union "central committee" to stop countering challenge with challenge and to reaffirm a desire for compromise.

Since the university strike is continuing in many faculties despite the decision by the strike leaders to call it off, Monsignor Glemp had no hesitation in sending a fourth letter -- an open one -- to the students to persuade them to start working again.

The media is showing great zeal in citing citizens dismayed by the radicalism of Mr Walesa, who is abused by the Army daily. The Monday evening television news program obligingly echoed the preparations for confrontation in the Solidarity organizations (creation of secret factory committees in Poznan, stockpiling of bandages in Olsztyn, appointment of leaders for a future active strike in Silesia and so forth). "Solidarity is creating insurrectional terror," the presenter commented, while the Solidarity Warsaw section predicted in a communique that the authorities could not win the confrontation and that after it society "should create a new government which really represents it."

On Monday alone there were meetings of party first secretaries at Central Committee headquarters in Warsaw; representatives of the PZPR and the United Peasant and Democratic Parties, the two other legal parties; the United Peasant Party Central Committee; and finally the Democratic Party leadership. The political agitation has reached its peak. Three letters are all there is to halt the inevitable course.

CHURCH'S CHANCES TO MEDIATE CRISIS APPEAR DIM

NC101502 Paris AFP in English 1415 GMT 10 Dec 81

[By Jacques-Michel Tondre]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (AFP) -- Several efforts by the Roman Catholic Church to mediate in the conflict between the Solidarity independent union federation and the government -- including an attempt to set up a summit between the two -- appear to have failed, informed political observers said here today.

Polish Church Primate Jozef Glemp and several other top leaders met for three-and-one-half hours yesterday with Lech Walesa, just before the Solidarity leader was to go to Gdansk to prepare a meeting of the federation's top regional leaders on Friday.

The meeting led Mr Walesa to postpone his trip and spend the night in Warsaw, to await the result of church attempts to set up the summit. He finally left early today to attend a weekly meeting of Solidarity's National Presidium.

Neither church nor Solidarity officials commented on the meeting, but one source said it had been prolonged because participants were awaiting an "important telephone call."

That call, sources said, might have been the results of the church efforts. It was not known whether the call was actually made.

Several meetings between the regime and the church took place yesterday. Polish party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski met with leaders of three parliamentary groups, Ryszard Reiff of Pax, Kazimierz Morawski of the Christian Social Association and Janusz Zablocki of the Polish Catholic-Social Union.

Meanwhile, in Krakow, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, archbishop of Krakow, met first with the president and vice-president of the city's local Solidarity section, Waclaw Sikora and Stefan Jarczak, and then with local party First Secretary Krystyn Dabrowa and Mayor Jozef Grajewicz.

The succession of meetings followed an unprecedented effort by Archbishop Glemp, who earlier this week warned Polish members of parliament against adopting emergency laws. Solidarity has threatened a general strike if this law is passed.

Despite the failure to get a summit yesterday, Archbishop Glemp's warning may have borne fruit, observers said. They noted several official statements and news commentaries that suggested that the law -- whose adoption was strongly recommended by the sixth plenary session of the communist party late last month -- might not be necessary after all.

Indeed, the legislation is not even included in an agenda for the next parliament session, set for Tuesday.

Despite this apparent softening of the party's position, the Solidarity meeting tomorrow in Gdansk could be dangerous, since the call for a general strike and confrontation with the authorities, first made December 4 in Radom has in the past week galvanized regional leaders.

Mr Walesa, however, said he was convinced that there would not be a strike, but that negotiations would resume and agreements would be reached. He added that this moderate position, heretofore pilloried by some regional leaders, would not be targeted for excessive criticism.

Indeed, the authorities, in publicizing the contents of a tape of the Radom meetings to try to show a union intent to overthrow the government, enhanced Mr Walesa's national prestige just as his authority within Solidarity was being called into doubt.

MODERATION URGED IN RECENT WARSAW COMMENTARY

LD102010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Talk by Boleslaw Broszczak]

[Text] The public is aware that the country is in a critical situation. However, not everyone draws the same conclusions from this fact. The method of frightening people and misusing the word confrontation not only does not lead to constructive solutions but is also socially harmful. The majority of the 36 million Poles displays both commonsense and understanding of those facts, which genuinely understood national interest dictates. But from what we see and hear there emerges, unfortunately, the sad conclusion that a tremendously large amount is being spoken about the public without asking the public for its opinion. Those people who write and speak in the mass media at least must be modest enough to speak exclusively on their own behalf. The times we live in require not individual justifications and ambitions but reflection on, first, how we are to get out of the present critical situation and, second, what we are to do to make sure it is not repeated sometime in the future.

The only formula which can be applied in creating a front of national accord -- in any case semantics do not play the decisive role here -- goes as follows: Who is not against us is with us. This is not anything new: this formula was applied successfully in Hungary after 1956. The only thing is that the implementation of this formula requires a radical change in the way of thinking of a considerable part of the apparatus of authority. You see, one cannot make out of criticism of the authorities or of (?feelings) of ill-will, the argument that those doing the criticizing are the enemies of socialism.

Recently one of the old members of the party, one who in his time acted according to what he said, said something that should make us stop and think: There will be a real threat to socialism in Poland if the great capitalists return to their factories and the Potockis and Radziwills return to their landed estates. I do not think that these are words without cover. If someone thinks differently then he is fooling himself and others irrespective of whether he represents Solidarity or the authorities.

The public is not against socialism. The hullabaloo which was made, for instance, on the poster hung up by Szczecin students on which the inscription of 11 November 1918 was enclosed an outline of Poland between the wars is very amiss. They were made out to be, quite simply, friends of West German revanchists and of enemies of the country.

Excuse me: What sort of boundary were they supposed to show around the inscription of 11 November 1918? There are many other examples of this kind and all contrary to what one might expect.

After all, one cannot speak of national agreement or of the role of nonparty people and Catholics and at the same time accuse SLOWO POWSZECHNE o holding hostile positions. What is needed is moderation but also long-term thinking. This was understood in Hungary in 1956. I only hope that this is what happens in Poland as quickly as possible and in our common interest. If this talk alarms anyone then they can be assured that it was written in defense of the principles governing our political system.

GLOWCZYK ON FOREIGN TRADE AT FACTORY MEETING

LD101128 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (PAP) -- A meeting has been held at the Warsaw (?light) car factory between Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and the enterprise's economic and party aktiv.

In his speech Jan Glowczyk dealt, among other things, with the basic principles of the enterprise's activity next year. He stressed that the first quarter will be the most difficult in view of the fact there was still a considerable degree of uncertainty concerning imports of supply goods and deliveries of domestic raw materials. He also noted that the decisions for next year correspond to the general directions of economic reform. A return to management by directive, J. Glowczyk said, is impossible. While taking into account the many difficulties, the reform must be implemented.

J. Glowczyk devoted much attention in his speech to problems of foreign trade, especially economic exchange with the USSR. In the seventies there was a relative weakening of economic ties with the USSR and other CEMA countries, and at the same time Poland is dependent to a large extent upon the capitalist countries. At present there is a partial reduction of Poland's role in the socialist countries' markets; we have lost links in cooperation. Now, in a more difficult situation and as a less reliable partner, Poland has been forced to make up for what has been allowed to happen. A number of Polish products have little attraction for Western markets. The USSR is prepared to buy Polish goods, even those which are not the highest quality. For the same amount of oil, iron ore and cotton which Poland imported from the USSR in 1976-80, instead of 35.5 billion hard zlotys Poland would have had to pay 57 billion hard zlotys on the world market. The prices of raw materials are the main point in imports from the USSR. These are increasing rapidly in the world, while Poland has been paying average prices for the past 5 years.

ZBOWID URGES TALKS 'WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME'

LD102124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] The Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBOWID] Main Administration Presidium discussed at its session today the draft combatant law and the plan for the Presidium's work for the first 6 months of next year. In a statement on the country's sociopolitical situation the ZBOWID Main Administration Presidium appealed to all progressive forces, all patriots and people of good will to examine at a common table solutions which are in our country's interest, while there is still time.

COMMENTARY ON AUTHORITIES' OVER INDULGENCE

LD101456 Warsaw PAP in English 1401 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (PAP) -- TRYBUNA LUDU today criticized the authorities for too much indulgence towards all kinds of violation of law ranging from theft to crime. The apparent powerlessness of militia accompanied by mistaking hooliganism for struggle for rights are all an additional encouragement for breach of law, the paper said.

"We should put an end to extravagance, as indecision is bound to aggravate the process of depravation," the paper wrote, adding that "the (?notion) of freedom becomes fiction when man no longer feels secure when at home or in the street."

"Why do mass media bring so many reports on acts of lawlessness and so few on punishment for those guilty of them?' the paper charged.

"When everybody wants to lay down his own rights and enforce them, you no longer have any law at all: You have the jungle instead," the paper said. "We should simply tell democracy from anarchy or chauvinism," it added.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON U.S.-POLISH ECONOMIC TALKS

LD101242 Warsaw PAP in English 1136 GMT 10 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (PAP) -- ZYCIE WARSZAWY special Washington correspondent Karol Szyndzielorz today gave the following comment on the outcome of the Polish-American economic talks in Washington.

"Contrary to illusions and simplified opinions, negotiations on Poland's economic cooperation or, rather, on American economic assistance are by no means easy. These talks even tend to grow more difficult because of the scale of Poland's debt, needs and internal instability.

"The White House and American administration officials also quote budgetary restrictions, pressing domestic needs, and the deteriorating climate in world economy. There seems to be no policy concept towards Poland. Views on the subject are different in the State Department, the banks and the industry.

"The American side believes that Poland will become full member of the International Monetary Fund as late as the middle of next year. That is why setting the terms of financing of the Polish obligations towards creditors next year is such a pressing matter. Progress on this subject has been insignificant so far.

"Vice-Premier Madej told ZYCIE WARSZAWY that he was not disappointed /with the talks/ [slantlines as received] but saw no grounds for optimism either. According to him, the talks were businesslike and useful because they helped to clarify many problems."

Madej Interviewed on Talks

LD101508 Warsaw PAP in English 1413 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (PAP) -- After his Washington talks with U.S. officials, Vice Premier and Chairman of the Planning Commission Zbigniew Madej told TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent Wlodzimierz Lozinski that the very meeting of co-chairmen of the Polish-U.S. joint commission on trade "was a successive, routine step in improving our bilateral economic and financial cooperation based on partnership and co-production."

"However, the particular character of the commission's meeting and other talks held in the U.S. consisted in the circumstances that have developed in Poland this year," Zbiegniew Madej said.

"First of all, we have to be and we are aware of the fact that the overcoming of the economic crisis is our own internal affair in the first place. Secondly, while seeking external aid and facilitations we are concentrating on tightening economic and industrial bonds with our closest neighbours, i.e. the Soviet Union and other CEMA states. Thirdly, while dealing with growing economic and commercial dependences and connections of the whole world, we are seeking aid and credits everywhere, also in the biggest state of the West," the vice premier stressed.

Asked about the nearest future of the Polish-American relations, Zbigniew Madej said that he gives priority to establishing conditions for direct investment and industrial cooperation, also concerning raw materials and materials between Polish industrial plants and U.S. corporations.

"The economic reform will broaden such possibilities by putting initiative, inventiveness and scale of cooperation in exports and co-production into the hands of producers and businessmen themselves," Zbigniew Madej said.

The final issues of Vice Premier Madej's talks with Americans, who are the main partners of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, were the principles and aims of Poland's readmission to both organizations. "Our aim is to have the possibility of participating in loans granted by those U.S. specialized agencies for improving our balance of payment and stimulating industrial growth towards its greater share in the world's turnover." Zbigniew Madej expressed his hope that those aims were met with sympathy.

SWEDISH DAILY CITED ON POLISH EMIGRATION

LD100022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2230 GMT 9 Dec 81

[Text] The conservative Swedish daily SVENSKA DAGBLADET writes, citing an emigration spokesman, that if the number of arrivals from Poland continues to rise, the office will recommend that the requirement for a visa to travel between Poland and Sweden be reintroduced. Many Poles are requesting political asylum, but only in isolated cases do those asking fulfill the requirements for political refugee stands. In the third quarter of this year, the police turned 337 Poles back at the frontier, mainly because the latter lacked sufficient funds.

TRYBUNA LUDU CITES JOINT TREATY WITH FRG

LD071000 Warsaw PAP in English 0827 GMT 7 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Dec (PAP) -- November 7 1981 [date as received] marks a decade of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany. On this occasion Marian Podkowinski wrote in today's TRYBUNA LUDU:

"Marking time in hope that things which should be done today can be put off for tomorrow, characteristic of the present phase of implementing the Polish-FRG basic treaty Bonn, bears no good prospects for the future. [sentence as received] The West German youth's image of Poland is left subject to their own investigations or imagination, while recommendations concerning the revision of textbooks have been covered by a thick layer of dust."

"If this treaty is still to remain a breakthrough in our, as well as European, relations it cannot be a concern of the lawyers alone: It must be a living testimony to the lasting progress on the path to its full implementation in accordance with its unshakeable provisions. All manipulation of the foundations of this treaty will undermine the credibility of those who take every opportunity to stress that 'pacta sun servanda' only to overuse this formula for their own ends. We think that during the second decade of implementing the treaty this truth will be also driven home to where it was hitherto rejected. Such is the logic of the Potsdam decisions and such is the logic of the contemporary European reality, upon which the political and territorial status quo of our continent is based," Podkowinski concluded.

FRG'S SPATH PAYS VISIT TO COUNTIES 10 DEC

AU102005 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Dec (AGERPRES) -- On December 10, Lothar Spath, minister-president of the Baden-Wuerttemberg Land, vice-chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the officials accompanying him visited Timis and Arab Counties. The guests were welcomed by Petre Dinca, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Timis County People's Council, and saw round economic units and cultural establishments.

SOARE, PARLIAMENTARIANS VISIT BRITAIN 9 DEC

AU092030 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 9 Dec 81

[Text] London, 9 Dec (AGERPRES) -- During the visit to Great Britain, the delegation of the Romanian interparliamentary group, led by Stan Soare, chairman of the group, had a meeting with executives of the British Interparliamentary Group.

During the talks, they examined the stage and development prospects of the relations between the two parliaments and exchanged views on major questions of the current international life. They approached aspects related to the evolution of the international situation, and the initiatives and activity of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu for the elimination of the nuclear danger, for ensuring peace and security in Europe and the world over were highly assessed.

RADOI, PARLIAMENTARY GROUP VISIT FRANCE 10 DEC

AU102009 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Paris, 10 Dec (AGERPRES) -- At the Luxembourg Palace, Alain Poher, president of the French Senate, received the delegation of the Romania-France parliamentary group of friendship, led by Deputy Marin Radoi, chairman of the Romanian parliamentary group for cooperation and security in Europe, now paying a visit to France at the invitation of the France-Romania group of friendship of the French Senate. On the occasion the good many-sided relations existing between Romania and France were highlighted. The same day, the members of the Romanian parliamentary delegation had a meeting with senators, members of the France-Romania group of friendship.

VERDET PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT TO IRAQ 9-10 DEC

Verdet Meets Ramadan

AU092042 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1942 GMT 9 Dec 81

[Text] Baghdad, 9 Dec (AGERPRES) -- Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, now in Baghdad on an official visit at the invitation of the Government of the Iraq Republic, had talks with Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minster.

For Romania the talks were attended by Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the Joint Government Commission of Economic, Technico-Scientific and Commercial Cooperation, the other officials accompanying the Romanian prime minister on his Iraqi visit.

For Iraq, present at the talks were Hasan 'Ali, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, chairman for Iraq of the Joint Romanian-Iraqi Government Commission, Hamid 'Alwan, minister of state for foreign affairs, deputy minsters and other executives of Iraqi economic ministries.

During the talks, the two governments' satisfaction was expressed at the upward course of the bilateral relations in all domains of mutial interest, emphasizing that they were grounded on the understandings reached during the talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Saddam Husayn, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, president of the Republic of Iraq.

The prime minister of Romania and the first deputy prime minister of Iraq examined the current stage of the Romanian-Iraqi projects and programmes of economic cooperation, highlighting both parties' determination to deploy every effort for their carrying through in the best of conditions. They also paid special attention to seeking out concrete modalities of further turning to advantage the possibilities of economic colllaboration, by setting out from the continuously growing potentialities of the two countries, and set measures apt to help developing the political, economic, technico-scientific and cultural relations between Romania and Iraq.

During the talks, they exchanged views on current questions of the international life, with emphasis on the common positions of the two countries as regard the need for sustained efforts for overcoming the tense situation in the contemporary world, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of all disputes among states, for resolute steps on the path of disarmament, nuclear disarmament above all, for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, for the democratization of the international life.

The confidence was expressed that the amplification and intensification of the Romanian-Iraqi relations in all domains of activity, just as the expansion of the collaboration between the two countries in international life fully accorded with the interests of the friendly Romanian and Iraqi peoples, with the general cause of peace, detente, independence and progress the world over.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality, mutual esteem and understanding.

The Romanian-Iraqi talks continue.

During the official visit he is paying to Iraq Romanian Prime Minister Ilie Verdet was a guest, on December 9, of the workers, technical staff and engineers of the Baghdad electrical equipment factory.

The same day in the evening Taha Yasin Ramadan, Iraqi first deputy prime minister, gave an official dinner in honour of Romanian Prime Minister Ilie Verdet. Participating were Iraqi ministers and other officials as well as the Romanian officials accompanying the Romanian prime minister on his present visit to Iraq. During the dinner Ilie Verdet and Taha Yasin Ramadan proposed toasts to the health of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of President Saddam Husayn, to the prosperity and peace of the Romanian and Iraqi peoples, to the strengthening of the friendly relations of tight cooperation between the two countries and peoples

Meeting With Saddam Husayn

AU102025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Baghdad, 10 Dec (AGERPRES) -- Saddam Husayn, Secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, president of the Republic of Iraq, received on December 10 in Baghdad Ilie Verdet, prime minister of Romania, now on an official visit to Iraq at the invitation of that country's government.

A warm message of friendship was conveyed on the occasion to Saddam Husayn from Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania.

Thanking, President Saddam Husayn requested that the Romanian head of state be conveyed cordial, friendly greetings.

During the talk, they expressed the two parties' satisfaction at the upward, dynamic course of the friendly relations between Romania and Iraq, in all domains of mutual interest, stressing that they were based on the orientations and understandings reached within the fruitful summit dialogue.

Ilie Verdet and Taha Yasin Ramadan highlighted the fruitful results rounding off the current visit to Iraq by the Romanian prime minister. The two parties' firm determination was expressed to further lend the same dynamic character to the mutually advantageous collaboration between Romania and Iraq, in the political, economic, technological, scientific and other fields of mutual interst.

Special emphasis was placed on the broad possibilities existing for the intensification of the commercial exchanges, for the amplification and diversification of the economic cooperation in industry, agriculture, transport, building materials, housing and tourism and the two governments' wish was reaffirmed to do everything possible for the fulfillment of the understandings reached in the best of conditions.

Within the exchange of views on the main problems of international life they stressed Romania's and Iraq's worry about the perpetuation of the tension in the world as well as the two countries' determination to act perserveringly for lessening this tension, to oppose the tendencies of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy of domineering and oppression, of intervention in internal affairs, of division or redivision of the world into zones of influence. Emphasis was placed on the responsibility incumbent on all states of doing everything for halting the arms race for a passage to firm measures of disarmament, nuclear disarmament above all, for the settlement of all interstate conflicts only by peaceful, negotiated means, for concrete steps to be taken toward eradicating the underdevelopment and building a new international economic order.

Referring to the developments in Europe President Saddam Husayn gave special appreciation to the latest peace initiative of President Nicolae Ceausescu, aimed at the attainment of understandings apt to lead to an elimination of the intermediate rockets, of all nuclear armament from the continent, and pointed out the special significance of the ample mass manifestations in favour of peace staged in Romania of late. The conviction was expressed that the achievement of progress in this field in Europe could influence positively the peace and security of the entire world.

There was highlighted the urgent need for reaching a just, lasting settlement of the Middle East issue, setting out from the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the settlement of the Palestinian people's issue by acknowledging its right to self-determination and independent statehood. The Romanian side highlighted that in achieving a global solution to the conflict, of special importance would be the calling of an international conference within the UN, with the participation of all interested parties, the PLO, the Soviet Union and the USA, as well as of other countries that could make a positive contribution in this respect.

Worry was expressed in relation to the continuation of the conflict between Iraq and Iran.

The sides stressed the need for enhanced role of the small and medium-sized countries, of the nonaligned states, of the developing countries in the debate and settlement of contemporary world's major problems, for resolved action in view of democratizing the internationa life, for enhanced role of the United Nations organization. Brought to the fore was the absolute need for the interstate relations to be grounded on the established bases of the principles of observance of the national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in the domestic affairs of others, non-use of force and of the threat with force for guaranteeing each people's right to free, unhampered development, in tune with its legitimate aspirations, for ensuring the triumph of the cause of peace, detente, independence and progress world-wide.

The sides expressed the conviction that the development of the relations between Romania and Iraq on a bilateral plane as well as the expansion of the collaboration between the two countries on an international plane met to the full the interests of a free, independent development of the Romanian and Iraq friendly peoples, of the world peace and stability.

The interview passed in a warm cordial atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding that is characteristic of the friendly relations between Romania and Iraq.

The same day, official talks continued between Ilie Verdet and Taha Yasin Ramadan. The talks focussed on Romanian-Iraqi bilateral questions, economic in particular.

Dumo Meets With Officials

AU102007 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Baghdad, 10 Dec (AGERPRES) -- Aurel Duma, minister, secretary of state, the Foreign Ministry, who accompanies the Romanian premier in his visit to Iraq had an interview with the Iraqi minister of foreign affairs, Sa'dun Hammadi. Questions of the bilateral relations and aspects of the international life were approached, as well as aspects of the collaboration between Romania and Iraq at the UN, within the Group of the 77, of the movement of the non-aligned states and within other international fora.

Aspects of the Romanian-Iraqi collaboration were also tackled when Aurel Duma was received by Na'i- Haddad, chairman of the Iraqi National Assembly and secretary general of the National People's Progressive Front.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CREDENTIALS OF PDRY ENVOY

AU101522 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the republic, today received Muhammad Haydarah Masdus who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] to our country.

Presenting his credentials, Ambassador Muhammad Haydarah Masdus extended warm greetings to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and to the Romanian party and people on behalf of Comrades 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, chairman of the Supreme People's Presidium and chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers. In his speech on this occasion, the ambassador of the PDRY stressed the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and expressed his determination to make great efforts to continue to develop them.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed thanks for the greetings and conveyed cordial wishes for health and personal happiness to Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, as well as wishes for peace and prosperity to the Yemeni people. In his response, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania stressed with satisfaction that the friendly relations between our countries and parties, based on esteem and mutual respect, are continuously developing in the interests of the peoples of the two countries and the cause of peace and international cooperation. The speaker also stressed that the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen will be able to cooperate more closely in the future to achieve the great desiderata of the present-day world and to build a better and more just world on our planet.

After the accreditation ceremony, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Ambassador Muhammad Haydarah Masdus had a talk in cordial atmosphere.

ALBANIAN ENVOY REFUSES LETTER OF PROTEST

Contents Summarized

LD1011440 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG) -- At a press conference today at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the text was published of a note conveyed to the ambassador of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on 4 December, 1981, in Belgrade:

"The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has the honor of drawing the attention of the Embassy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the following:

For a long time now, both in the Albanian press and in utterances by individual leading figures of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, an open anti-Yugoslav campaign has been conducted, as was pointed out to the Albanian side in the aide memoire conveyed by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on 14 May 1981, to the ambassador of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately, the Albanian side has not ceased such activity. Furthermore, activity has been increased in Albania directed against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. This found prominent expression at the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party held 1-7 November this year in Tirana.

On this occasion, in the report of the first secretary of the Albanian Workers' Party, and in the speeches by the president of the Presidium, the prime minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and others, on the basis of crude falsifications prominence was given to Albanian claims to parts of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the "return" of the annexation of "Albanian territories" in Yugoslavia to the Albanian state -- the People's Socialist Republic of Albania -- was sought.

Within the compass of crude interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, the Albanian leadership openly identified itself with the goals of anti-Yugoslav irredentist forces, and supported their counterrevolutionary actions directed against the integrity and constitutional order of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

All this is being continued in the Albanian press and, in general, in Albanian propaganda in the world in the guise of "working out" and propagating the decisions of the aforementioned congress.

The Albanian Government knows that during the revolution and the national liberation war, a socialist, federal community was formed through the struggle of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, on the foundations of firmly forged brotherhood and unity. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will permit no one to threaten these achievements.

In addition, the Albanian Government is well acquainted with the constitutional system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which gives full opportunity for all-round development and accomplishes the full equality of the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, including the Albanian nationality, as is also expressed in the constitutional position of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs at the same time drew the Albanian side's attention to the fact that through its impermissible activity it is seriously bringing into question the results achieved in Yugoslav-Albanian relations, which is contrary to the interests and aspirations of the nations and nationalities of the two countries, and to their needs. Such conduct may also have grave consequences for broader stability in the Balkan region, and open the gates to foreign interests and interference in this region.

Bearing in mind the facts laid out above, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs lodges, on behalf of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a vigorous protest to the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The Yugoslav side expects that the Albanian side will, in the interest of good-neighborliness, peace and security in this region, refrain from such activities and will accept the path of normal good-neighborly relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs wishes to take the opportunity also to underline that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has exerted constant efforts for normalisation of relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and consistently follows the principles of equality and noninterference, full respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders. In this, Yugoslavia adheres to the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, which continues to be its permanent orientation. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, entirely justifiably seeks that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania should also respect these principles in realizing Albanian-Yugoslav relations, which can develop in a stable manner only on the basis of mutual respect and reciprocity. The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs takes this opportunity to express its respects to the Embassy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Envoy Takes Down Text

LD101902 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia has categorically protested against the territorial claims to parts of the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia put forth by the highest Albanian leadership on the basis of gross falsification. Tirana's attention has also been drawn to the fact that Yugoslavia will not allow anyone to endanger its achievements, achievements attained during the national liberation war through the struggle of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities, a struggle which resulted in the "formation of the (Yugoslav) socialist federal community on the foundations of the firmly forged brotherhood and unity". The Yugoslav community "offers the full possibility for the comprehensive development and the realization of the full equality of the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, including the Albanian nationality". The above stands are presented in the note of the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia to the P.S.R. of Albania presented to the Albanian ambassador in Belgrade on December 4 this year and in the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat.

Asked whether the Albanians had accepted the note, press spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs Mirko Kalezic said that the Albanian ambassador, aided by his translator, took down the text in detail, and then refused to accept the note formally.

Asked how he viewed the further development of Yugoslav-Albanian relations, the spokesman said that Yugoslavia wants goodneighbourly relations with all countries but this can only be brought about with the (?readiness) on both sides and practice based on the well-known principles of the observance of sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of countries and non-interference in their internal affairs.

SOLIDARITY TO DISCUSS RADOM MEETING CONCLUSIONS

LD101906 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1801 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Dec (TANJUG) -- The National Commission of Solidarity will meet in Gdansk tomorrow to consider the situation in the country and declare itself on the conclusions adopted by its Presidium in Radom last week.

At a meeting in Warsaw between Solidarity President Lech Walesa and the Roman Catholic primate of Poland, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the head of church also presented to Lech Walesa a letter which, as is believed, will be read at the session of the National Commission.

The head of church, as confirmed by its press representative, sent at the same time a letter to General Jaruzelski and a letter to Sejm deputies. In the letter, Archbishop Glemp pressed for deputies not to pass a possible draft law giving the government emergency powers.

Observers believe, however, that the Sejm, which will meet next Friday, will pass a law on trade unions regulating the right to strike and determining legal conditions under which such actions can be undertaken.

The attention of observers here was drawn also by a meeting between First Secretary of the Central Committee and Prime Minister Jaruzelski and representatives of Catholic organizations of Poland. It was reported from the meeting solely that some problems resulting "from the critical situation in which the country has found itself" were considered. Immediately afterwards one of the participants in the meeting, president of the Polish Catholic-Social Union, talked with Archbishop Glemp. It is considered that in this way the party and the church exchanged views on the situation in the country and on ways for overcoming its critical state.

DOLANC RETURNS FROM VISIT TO AUSTRIA, FRG

LD101558 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG) -- Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, arrived back in Yugoslavia today after a visit lasting several days to Austria and the FRG. During his visit he had talks with high-ranking officials of the two countries.

JOINT ECONOMIC TALKS WITH U.S. HELD IN NEW YORK

AU101235 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 81 p 2

[J. Gustincic report]

[Summary] New York, 5 Dec -- A meeting of the American-Yugoslav Economic Council, which meets twice a year, in Dubrovnik and New York alternately, was held in the Roosevelt Hotel.

This year's New York meeting was devoted to the serious problem of the "stagnation" of Yugoslav exports to the United States. Last year, our exports totalled some $400 million, while we imported goods, mostly high technology goods and equipment, worth $1 billion. "During the first 9 months of this year, only 39 percent of our imports from the United States were covered by exports."

In the past, the value of our exports was $500 million and if we consider inflation then the drop in our exports totals over $100 million. Chances for balancing trade are not great now and an increase in trade cannot be envisaged either.

At the meeting yesterday the Yugoslav delegation was led by Jon Srbovan, president of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber. "In his speech at the meeting he emphasized the importance of economic relations with the United States, which takes fourth place in our trade with foreign countries, and which is first by the overall value of joint ventures."

Among others, the meeting was attended by David Anderson, U.S. ambassador in Belgrade, and Budomir Loncar, Yugoslav ambassador in Washington, both of whom pointed to the exceptionally favorable general political climate in the mutual relations, which under Reagan's administration is not lagging behind that prevailing in the Carter era.

Other speakers mentioned measures and ideas aimed at increasing Yugoslav exports. The American side raised the question of when Yugoslavia will adopt amendments to the laws regulating joint ventures and transfer of technology and patents. The Americans reiterated that the interest in new investments, which has dwindled due to the restrictions in the relevant laws and regulations, depended on these amendments. Jon Srbovan said that these amendments may be adopted next spring.

FINANCE SECRETARY KOSTIC HOLDS TALKS IN JAPAN

AU091747 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 81 p 2

[Text] Tokyo, 7 Dec (TANJUG) -- Petar Kostic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for finance, today ended his 3-day visit to Japan during which he met with the Japanese ministers for foreign affairs and finance, and numerous representatives of the Japanese economy and banks.

Today, Yoshio Sakurauchi, Japanese minister of foreign affairs, received Petar Kostic. In a very friendly atmosphere, which also otherwise characterizes relations between our two countries, talks were held on the international situation and on certain questions of relations between the Yugoslav and Japanese economies and banks, including problems of further promoting economic cooperation, particularly financial cooperation. Selmo Hasimbegovic, SFRY ambassador to Japan, also participated in the talks.

Petar Kostic, federal secretary for finance, also held detailed talks during his visit with Michio Watanabe, Japanese minister of finance, and with his associates. Numerous issues of the current situation on the world financial market, particularly in the financial relations between Japan and Yugoslavia, were discussed in the talks.

In his talks with Japanese businessmen, Petar Kostic stressed the Yugoslav economy's interest in importing technology from Japan, something that is directly linked with increased Yugoslav exports to Japan, in view of the need to ensure the means of payment. On this occasion, the Japanese side expressed the conviction that an increase in Yugoslav exports to Japan depends on both sides and that mutual efforts are necessary.

TALKS WITH ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY DELEGATION

Received by Minic 10 Dec

LD102006 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1735 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG) — Delegations of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and the Italian Democratic Socialist Party (P.S.D.I.) met here today to exchange views on current political, social and economic developments in the two countries.

The delegations were headed by Kolj Siroka, president of the Federal Conference, and Pietro Longo, secretary of the P.S.D.I., respectively.

During the meeting the delegations expressed the wish of both sides for a promotion of cooperation.

Earlier today, the P.S.D.I. delegation was received by member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency and president of the Social Council for International Relations Milos Minic. Conditions in Europe, questions of disarmament and the dealing with existing focuses of crisis attracted special interest during the talks, which also related to cooperation within the workers' movement in the world and activities of the movement of non-aligned countries. Both sides noted with satisfaction the successful, all-round cooperation between the two friendly countries.

Meeting With Mijatovic

LD102232 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG) -- Member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Cvijetin Mijatovic received here today a delegation of the Democratic Socialist Party of Italy headed by Secretary General Pietro Longo.

In the ensuing talk it was assessed that friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between the two countries are a model of neighbourhood and understanding. Such relations, it was said, are a contribution to the stability and confidence in the Mediterranean and Europe.

Within the framework of international topics discussed, special attention was devoted to the developments in Europe and the region to which the two countries belong. Given the present, tense international situation, the need was stressed for all European countires to contribute to the strengthening of confidence and understanding and [words indistinct] of detente.

GRLICKOV REVIEWS WORLD SOCIALIST PROCESS

AU101159 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2211 26 Nov 81 pp 2-3

[Interview granted by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the LCY Central Committee Commission for International Cooperation, to Maj Slavoljub Susic, foreign political editor of NARODNA ARMIJA, "toward the end of last week" -- place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] In one of your recent articles you said that it is of decisive importance for the workers movement and all progressive forces within every contemporary revolutionary process to identify the idea of liberation of man, class, nation and people and to accept that identification as the basis of their strategy. However, as is known, these roads are different. The forces in the front ranks of this struggle act under different circumstances and hence the outcomes of the struggle are also different....

[Answer] Naturally, different roads are an objective law, hence the socialist contents are also different in the individual countries. The ideas of liberation of man, class, nation and people are the ideas of socialism but their full expression must be expected in communism, in which the basic material and social relations in the society will be changed. What appears on the scene is Marx's ideal known as "from everyone according to his abilities and to everyone according to his needs." On the world political scene, communism, as a society and a social relationship, should become a unified world system with all its prerequisites and objective laws. In the meantime, on the political scene, there is socialism as the historical intermediate period of transition from the class society to a classless society. The different roads of this transition result and will continue to result in differentiations and they sharpen and will continue to sharpen contradictions among the socialist forces, not only because of the objectively different material and social conditions, but also because of different concepts of the roads of the struggle for socialism and for building socialism. The course of history will show which of the forces will prove to be superior in that struggle. It is difficult now to make any predictions although there are some signs indicating an assertion of self-management which, of course, will be implemented in different specific forms in the individual countries, as well as certain well-grounded aspirations to independence and equality in relations between the socialist countries also.

[Question] The socialist countries in which the communist parties are in power are an important objective factor of the contemporary epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. Nevertheless, does it not seem to you that this process is progressing slowly?

[Answer] In a historical sense it was the October Revolution that opened the world socialist process. The later socialist revolutions widened its geographical horizons. However, that is not all. The world socialist process is more substantial and more complex. Its development is not slow; on the contrary, we must be satisfied with its pace.

The world socialist process includes all socialist revolutions in which communist parties are now in power. The process also includes those countries where the anticolonial and national liberation revolutions grew into social revolutions and which have established themselves as socialist countries by their constitutions. Some of them have adopted Marxism as their doctrine and political philosophy and some others have not done so. It is also necessary to include in this process those countries which, through the programs of their single parties or in some milder forms, have adopted socialism as the goal of their development, either accepting Marxism as their doctrine and political philosophy or not. And finally the process includes all those socialist elements and forms that are appearing "in the bosom of the old system," in the industrially developed capitalist countries, as a result of the centuries-old struggle of the workers class for social structural transformations and for socialism.

In conclusion, let me cite one fact: Today 52.07 percent of the world's population live in the first three groups of countries of socialism and socialist orientation. For this reason I do not think that this process is slow.

[Question] As things stand now, we are still far from the final liberation of labor and human creative work; there is still a great deal of "management on behalf of the workers class." What are the prospects for replacing this mediation with direct decision-making by the creators of the material, cultural and other values?

[Answer] According to the classics of socialism, the historical period of transition from the class to a classless society is a period which does not have its own laws.

The history of the development of socialism in the world began in undeveloped countries where the bourgeois capitalist society had created neither the material nor other prerequisites for the birth of a new system. Marx believed that capitalism is a prerequisite for socialism. Under these conditions, the socialist forces in the socialist countries have faced and continue to face the immediate task of creating the material prerequisites for socialism. This is a historical fact. However, the socialist forces in the socialist countries have faced and continue to face the question of whether, under these unforeseen conditions, it is possible to mechanically separate the creation of material prerequisites from building such socioeconomic and political relations which would have as much socialist substance as possible; the socialist substance that would open a wide scope for humanizing total relations and a wide scope for human individual and collective economic and political freedoms. The mechnaical separation of these two dialectically connected processes is one of the main reasons for various deformations in the development of socialism in the socialist countries.

Immediately after the revolution, the LCY chose the second strategy, that is, the strategy of refraining from mechanically separating the two aforementioned processes. It opened the process of developing socialist self-management as an internal economic and social organization of the society and thereby interrupted the mechnical separation of the material development from the socioeconomic development of the socialist society. Of course, by acting this way, we have not freed ourselves from all the difficulties resulting from a low level of development of the material production forces and from the absence of any inherited democratic institutions and of democratic awareness of the population.

A process of "merging" the material and the social development began in other socialist countries in the mid-sixties. A process of "softening" of the existing centralist system began.

By its nature, that system is not inclined to humanize total socioeconomic relations and to liberate man. However, the very act of opening that process in itself is very significant even though, because of its slowness, it has failed to produce any new qualities of importance for developing as complete a socialist substance as possible and for developing the world socialist process. Of course, to assume a new quality, the "softening" process, which is in progress, must found a new theoretical basis, an act by which all these processes, in their entire diversity, would accelerate the liberation of labor and the humanization of total social relations.

[Question] How do you explain the recent increasingly visible contradictions and conflicts, including even armed conflicts, between socialist countries?

[Answer] In their mutual relations, the socialist countries, that is the world of socialism, must become accustomed to the existence and self-reproduction of contradictions because of the objectively different interests of the individual socialist countries. The problem is really which way the socialist countries will solve these contradictions. Will they solve them by using the methods of the preceding capitalist civilization or will they introduce new methods, peculiar to socialism?

The practice followed in the relations between socialist countries so far has not dominantly asserted any new methods of relations. Judging by all the available evidence, at the present level of general development and of the development of mutual relations, that practice also could not assert any new methods and particularly any of those new methods that would apply to the sphere of contradictions in the mutual economic as well as political relations, due to an inconsistent respect for the known UN Charter principles concerning relations between states. The ambiguities and shortcomings inherent in the new principle of "socialist internationalism" especially contribute to this situation. There is a desire to introduce that principle as an additional international legal, political and moral norm in relations between the socialist countries.

It goes without saying that this approach does not justify any digressions from the principles embodied in the UN Charter or any wars between socialist countries. The LCY strictly stands on the position that relations between socialist countries must be based on the UN Charter and that there can be no grounds for any kind of specific new principles contradicting that charter. The LCY has proposed a new definition of a "voluntary international solidarity" as a moral norm in relations among the socialist and other progressive forces which was adopted by the Berlin conference as an alternative to the principles of "socialist internationalism."

As regards armed interventions and wars between socialist countries which also represent a new "unforeseen world phenomenon," there are no fundamental theoretical analyses. Those that do exist are still only at the level of phenomenology. Marxist science faces a great challenge in this sphere also.

According to the studies made so far, the armed interventions and war conflicts between socialist countries have not moved beyond the known past frameworks and motives causing armed interventions and wars. As a matter of fact, what is involved in this connection are unsolved border issues, territorial claims, aspirations by one country to achieve domination over another, aspirations to impose one's own "model" of socialism and the like. Regardless of their motives, which can also be characterized ideologically, these wars cannot be considered progressive. Progressive wars are only those which are waged by national socialist forces as defensive or national liberation wars against a foreign imperialist or hegemonist occupation.

[Question] In the last two decades, the nonaligned policy and movement have contributed in many respects to the historical process of emancipation of peoples. To what extent will the nonaligned policy influence the further transformation of this restive and divided world?

[Answer] In the eighth decade of this century, the Nonaligned Movement faced an intensification of its internal contradictions as well as intensified external pressure as a result of increased international tension provoked by the crisis of detente.

At the sixth summit conference of nonaligned countries in Havana, the original principles of the nonaligned policy and movement were preserved and the tendencies to break it up and the attempts to "absorb" it and place it in the service of foreign geopolitical strategic interests and thereby to reorient its goals were stopped. Of course, all that did not eliminate its internal contradictions, which cannot be eliminated either because they are of an objective nature. As a matter of fact, the problem is not in their existence but in the question of how they can be resolved by peaceful means. The question is how unity in differences can be preserved and on what basis the Nonaligned Movement's action and political capability can be strengthened.

As a result of its internal conflicts, the movement has lost some strength but not any importance under contemporary international conditions. It has provided and continues to provide a window for a way out of the crisis of a bipolarized and bloc-divided world. The past experience has shown that the blocs are providing an increasingly narrow outlet for the expression of the national interests of their member countries. This is the reason for the increasingly greater difficulties within the blocs. This does not imply that they will be dissolved today or tomorrow but it is certain that the need for the nonaligned policy and movement will be increasingly great. The present crisis is of a transitional nature. However, in this connection we must always bear in mind the fact that in this period the bloc structures are also experiencing their crises of greater or smaller intensity.

[Question] Comrade Grlickov, in your statements you frequently point out that mankind has never been as divided and simultaneously as deeply interdependent as today. Are these statements a form of the general optimistic prediction that reason must nevertheless ultimately prevail over the momentary bloc confrontations?

[Answer] The interdependence of mankind is great compared to its division. And this interdependence is not great only in one sphere of social life but extends to all spheres ranging from culture and science to military affairs. Interdependence is deeply rooted in international relations. It is a strong potential for the entire progress of mankind. It is of a universal nature. The interdependence in the military sector or, as we call it, the military balance between the two superpowers and the two strongest military-political blocs also serves progress if it ensures world peace as the optimal prerequisite for progress, social transformations and the world socialist process. We do not deny the need for a balance of military power between the two superpowers and the two strongest military-political blocks, but we do believe that this balance should be achieved at the lowest possible level of arms. For this reason we oppose the arms race because it deprives the world of collosal possibilities for solving the problems of its development, for improving the standard of living, for accelerating the development of undeveloped countries and for the consequences resulting from all that, that is, for the liberation of man and the optimal human individual and collective freedoms.

[Question] In the light of general international trends, it is the increasingly unfavorable economic panorama of our globe that deserves the world's attention. The gap between the developed world and the undeveloped countries is deepening more and more. In you opinion, what are the prospects for bridging that gap?

[Answer] In the last part of the 20th centry, the world faces three historical problems on which its future depends.

In addition to the problems of eliminating the war which would represent total annihilation and of ensuring peace as a condition for mankind's existence and as the optimal condition for the total social progress and the development of the world and of the socialist process, the problem of hunger and of a deepening gap between the industrially developed and undeveloped countries is a problem which is no less important for mankind's future than the problem of war. Already today it has become increasingly difficult to maintain the world's economic reproduction because of the increasingly greater gap between the developed and undeveloped countries. The world's chronic economic crisis is a result of that.

The global talks between the industrially developed and undeveloped countries are only a beginning on the way to opening the process of gradually replacing the existing system and mechanism of international economic relations with a new international economic system. This cannot be a single one-time act but a process. To introduce a new international economic system of a worldwide universal nature, it is necessary to ensure that that system will correspond to the interests of all peoples both of the industrially developed and undeveloped countries and to the interests of all classes, that is the capitalist, the workers and the peasant classes. Herein lies the meaning of the dialectical connection between the internal structural changes in the individual countries and the changes in the international economic order.

It will not be easy to bridge the gap. First a further deepening of the gap must be stopped and then it is necessary to work for the goal of catching up.

[Question] Many have called our orientation to socialist self-management an "experiment." However, our practice has refuted this characterization. In view of certain objective difficulties in which we find ourselves now, views are once again being heard about a crisis of socialist self-management. We would like to hear your comments on that.

[Answer] I think that self-management is being less and less regarded as an experiment. It has passed beyond this framework and this appraisal. It has passed beyond the limits of our country and is increasingly becoming a world process. As a new world historical phenomenon, self-management is also assuming all those qualities that are characteristic of all world historical phenomena, such as the world socialist process. It is characteristic of the world process of self-management that it appears in different ways, forms and methods. It appears under various names, such as "industrial democracy," "self-government," "self-management," "socialist self-management" and in other milder forms such as a consultative participation of workers in the management of enterprises. The promoters of this process are also various organized subjective forces of socialism ranging from the communist parties, as is the case with our League of Communists and the PZPR, to others. In their political documents, some of the Eurocommunist parties and the French Socialist Party are also including self-management as their goal. We also notice some forms of self-management in the countries where anticolonial revolutions have taken place.

Of course the quality and the scope of all these forms of including worker in the management of enterprises are not the same. A consistent integrated system of socialist self-management has been developed in practice only in our country.

Our view is that self-management is a great success, based on objective conditions, and that self-management has advanced beyond the framework of an "experiment," that it has won its legitimacy and that it is increasingly becoming a world process which will be carried out in various ways in accordance with the development of the world socialist process that is also being and will continue to be carried out in various ways. It is in this way also that it is necessary to understand our view that our specific economic-social organization of socialist society is not a "model" which is valid for all, but only a specific experience of that world historical phenomenon.

I want to return to the second part of your question about the reasons for difficulties in our country and about an unjustified shifting of blame to self-management. The absence of logic in this connection is evident in view of the fact that all seek solutions in some kind of self-management. some individuals in our country are attacking self-management as the main "sinner" responsible for our difficulties. The reality is quite the oppposite. Under the force of various circumstances and primarily because of economic difficulties, a process of state interventionism in the economy is taking place in our country. This alone would not really be that terrible because under the conditions of great instability, the state is more and more acting as an arbiter and regulator of economic trends in all social systems. But in our case, the state interventionism has increased to such proportions that it has now assumed a new quality. It has begun to push aside the self-managing mechanisms of the economic system. In this way the excessive state interventionism has also suppressed the free effect of economic laws and thereby also narrowed the scope for self-managing mechanisms. If we add to this the fact that we have failed to appropriately and resolutely achieve the goal of enabling direct procedures to dispose of the entire surplus labor, then we obtain the true picture of the "guilty factor" in our difficulties, which are not all in self-management.

This is not the first time that we have found ourselves in economic difficulties. We have always overcome them by further developing socialist self-management. There are no convincing facts which could prompt us this time to renounce self-management and revert to a centralist-administrative system.

After all, if all that were true, that is, if the charges that self-management is the "guilty factor" in our present difficulties were true, then the question would have to be asked: What is the reason for economic difficulties in the capitalist countries and in the socialist countries with a centralist system? The dogmatic and malicious forces deliberate in the same way and "unintentionally" fall into a trap where we can easily identify them.

We are now verifying the mechanism of functioning and of the specific instruments of the economic system and the strategy of economic policy to revitalize self-management. Therefore, our problem is not now to survive but how to adapt ourselves to be able to make further progress under the conditions of stability and further development of socialist self-management.

COMMENTARY NOTES HUMAN RIGHTS DAY 10 DEC

AU102001 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] The day of 10 December is observed throughout the world as human rights day. On that day 33 years ago, the UN General Assembly adopted the universal declaration on human rights. However, in this sphere of social life also, the road from the adoption of democratic principles to their implementation has proved to be distinctly twisting and thorny. Our commentator Milutin Milenkovic says the following in this connection.

At a time when economic difficulties are increasing on all continents, when the social contradictions are also growing and the internal and world conflicts are becoming increasingly dangerous for world peace, it is very necessary to remind the world public and many governments and political parties of the basic provisions of the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Today, when the basic principles of the UN Charter banning all interference in the affairs of other countries and proclaiming aggression as an international crime are increasingly openly violated, the rights of the human being as an individual are also paying their toll to a revived belligerence and threatened class or hegemonist privileges.

There is not only a logical connection but also a political inevitability in all this, because whomever is sending his troops across the borders of others cannot guarantee the human, socioeconomic and political rights of his own citizens. And vice versa, a racist sociopolitical creation, such as for instance the Republic of South Africa, cannot tolerate any obstacles to sending its interventionist forces or so-called punitive expeditions across its neighbors' borders. The aggressiveness of an unsuccessful regime or policy necessarily has both its internal face and its foreign political back.

Let us cite, for instance, Article No Two of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. It says: "Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms proclaimed by this declaration regardless of any differences in race, color of skin, gender, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other circumstances." Then: "All are equal before the law and are entitled, without any differences, to be equally protected by law." Or Article No 13, stipulating that everyone has the right to free movement and choice of residence within the borders of his own country, that everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country, and that everyone has the right to equal pay for equal work. And for instance Article No 26 stipulating that school education must promote understanding, tolerance and friendship between all peoples, races and religious groups, as well as the UN activity to maintain peace.

This is what the Universal Declaration on Human Rights says. Since 1948 the development of these origins of international public law, toward their increasingly great democratization and humanization, has resulted in a number of other accompanying conventions on special groups of economic, social and cultural rights, on preventing genocide, on women's political rights, on the position of refugees and so forth. It is not at all an accident that such states as the Republic of South Africa, in which the race, religious and political aggressiveness, have ratified the least number of these international documents.

It can be said without any exaggeration that the system of socialist self-managing decision making as the basic framework of socioeconomic relations, and the federal system which truly stands for complete national equality of all members of such a state, represent the most complete implementation of these requirements of international law in the sphere of the position of the human being. What is called internationally the rights of national minorities has been solved far more favorably in the SFRY than anywhere else. In our country, these fellow citizens [of national minorities] are not treated as recognized minorities but as completely equal citizens enjoying all the rights in the federal community. Our absolutely nonaggressive and exclusively peace-loving and defensive foreign policy of nonalignment, goodneighborliness and coexistence logically results from this attitude toward human rights.

Yugoslavia has ratified all essential international instruments for protecting human rights without any hesitation and without any difficulties. But the nonrecognition of the position of national minorities in their own houses, and interference in an unsolicited alleged protection of their fellow nationals beyond their borders, has led some of our neighbors also, including for instance Albania, into the spheres of international aggressiveness and the circle of provocators of conflicts.

FEDERAL COMMISSION NOTES ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

LD102246 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1819 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 December (TANJUG) -- The Federal Social Councils' Joint Commission for Economic Stabilization, chaired by President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Sergej Kraigher, assessed at its session today that it was necessary to reduce the number and volume of development priorities in the current medium-term development plan until 1985) in accordance with the actual possibilities of the economy.

The commission further assessed that all development plans -- from enterprises to provinces and republics to the federation -- should be adjusted to Yugoslavia's economic situation. The development plans must observe the fact that it will not be possible to retain the volume of accumulation to date, the commission noted.

The commission concluded that priority should be given to those economic branches or groups which could contribute to the expansion of exports.

The Finance Committee of the Assembly of Yugoslavia's Chamber of Republics and Provinces assessed today that owing to the unfavourable economic situation, a revision of the 1981-1985 development plan would be necessary.

The committee considers that it is necessary to make changes in the already reached social compacts between the republic and provinces, these compacts make part of the medium-term development plan. The committee concluded that the republics and provinces would have to agree above all on the reduction of debts abroad.

The medium-term development plan can be revised only under an agreement of all Yugoslav republics and autonomous provinces, just as it is adopted by a consensus of these Yugoslav socio-political communities.

NEW LOWER DUTY-FREE CONCESSIONS INTRODUCED

AU091743 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 81 p 6

[C. Lakic report]

[Text] The latest decision of the Federal Executive Council regulating the limit of customs concessions enjoyed by Yugoslavs returning to the country from abroad came into effect at midnight last night. This concession had amounted to 1,500 dinars, whereas the value of no one item included in this concession could exceed 500 dinars.

According to the latest decision of the Federal Executive Council, the duty-free concession is now limited to 200 dinars. In a conversation with Aleksandar Radonjic, chief of the sector for passenger control, at Belgrade Airport yesterday, we were told that in the future, for instance, when returning to the country, passengers can, as part of the customs concession of 200 dinars, bring into the country duty-free 1 liter of spirits, or a carton of 200 cigarettes, or about 1 kilogram of unroasted coffee or 750 grams of roasted coffee. This is only an example and does not mean that passengers cannot import other goods, whatever they have bought, insofar as the value of the goods does not exceed 200 dinars. Those we talked with -- customs officials at Surcin Airport -- told us that in the future passengers will be able to import their personal clothing and all other articles as regulated by the customs law and other decisions of the Federal Executive Council, or the decisions of the Federal Customs Administration. While discussing the level of certain customs duties which passengers will have to pay in the future when importing certain articles, or rather for which no customs concessions will apply, we were given certain examples: The customs duty for a pair of jeans valued for customs purposes at 700 dinars will be 190 dinars; the customs duty and turnover tax of 1,320 dinars will be paid for women's leather boots valued at 2,500 dinars; the customs duty and turnover tax for a pair of men's or women's shoes valued for customs purposes at 1,400 dinars will be 745 dinars.

It is interesting to mention that those passengers who want to import cigarettes in excess of the allowed one carton of 200 cigarettes will have to pay no more or less than 2,250 dinars for one carton. The customs duty in this case is 900 percent.

At Belgrade Airport yesterday, we were present for several hours at the customs control and noticed that for the main part it was carried out without any problems. There were some cases of individuals returning from abroad who were obviously not informed, and who brought with them greater quantities of coffee which was put in the customs storage and for which customs duty will have to be paid or be reexported if the passenger so wishes.

YOUTHS DEMAND FREE MEALS AT PRISTINA UNIVERSITY

AU102032 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] In the continuation of our newsreel, we speak about yesterday's incident at the Pristina student center which provoked a quick reaction among citizens of the Kosovo capital. We will learn something more about that incident from our correspondent Milisav Milic:

A group of 100 youths entered the dining hall and demanded to be served meals. This arrogant group did not have the meal tickets such as are held by all those students who have paid for their meals in advance. The students rejected demands to identify themselves. They refused to show their university study registration cards or their personal identity cards. Several of them wore the blue dress of workers. The professors of Pristina faculties were unable to recognize their students among those 100 youths. Seven of the youths said that they had been informed that today free lunches would be served in the student dining hall. Having received their meals, the unknown youths dispersed.

Afterwards, meetings were held at the faculties in connection with this event. The Pristina Communal Committee of the League of Communists also held a meeting at which it was stated, as has been unofficially learned, that what is involved in this connection is a continuation of hostile activities by perfidious methods. We recall that several thousand students participated in the March and April demonstrations in Pristina. At the beginning of November, the residents of the student center again disrupted public peace and order.

The latest excess is interpreted as part of a continuous counterrevolutionary activity at Pristina University. This fact points out the need for a more effective differentiation and a more energetic struggle against the enemy. The Pristina RILINDJA and JEDINSTVO published a very brief news item on yesterday's excesses at the Pristina student center. The persistent reporters in Pristina failed to obtain from official sources any true information about the incident at the student center, something which leads to the conclusion that something continues to creak in the information system in Kosovo.

KOSOVO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON POWER SITUATION

AU102042 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Today's meeting of the Kosovo Assembly Executive Council, chaired by Riza Sapundjia, examined the power situation in Kosovo. The meeting came to the conclusion that owing to the increased consumption of electricity, it is necessary to adopt certain measures to save electricity. The Executive Council therefore decided to apply the first scale of reduction of electricity consumption. At the same time, all consumers have been asked to use electricity as rationally as possible during the peak hours between 1700 and 2200 in order to mitigate the present situation and to prevent the need to apply the second scale of reduction.

ULCINJ PREPARES FOR ALBANIAN NATIONALISM

LD091800 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 9 Dec 81

[Text] Ulcinj, 9 Dec (TANJUG) -- Communists, working people and citizens of Montenegro as well as the Yugoslav public in general are following with great interest the well-prepared political action -- that is, the planned settling of accounts -- undertaken by communists of Ulcinj Municipality in regard to individuals and organizations which openly acted from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and in regard to those who, with their opportunist attitude and lack of political vigilance, contributed to these phenomena gaining such momentum as to make the political and security situation in the municipality unfavorable. The firm stance of the municipal committee of the League of Communists on there being no place for nationalists in the League of Communists and on disciplinary and other measures to be taken against all who acted from enemy positions have been received with particular approval. The hotbeds of nationalistic activity and the exponents are known and have been identified. They are the brotherhood and unity school center in Ulcinj, the primary school in Vladimir and the local community in Sukobin.

Concrete measures have also been proposed which should be adopted by the municipal League of Communist conference tomorrow. They envisage the recall of some members of the committee and of the conference and the dissolution of a basic League of Communists organization. It is the duty of members of basic organizations of the League of Communists to expel from their ranks all those who acted from position of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

The full unity of the leaderships of sociopolitical organizations of Ulcinj Municipality in preparing this action and the unanimous readiness of communists to decisively settle accounts with enemy elements guarantee the successful waging of action which must be carried out fully. At the same time, this will represent a valuable experience for as well as a warning to both the municipal leadership and the entire League of Communists membership. Lack of vigilance, opportunism and self-satisfaction should never again be tolerated.

Party Committee Meets 8 Dec

LD082048 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 8 Dec 81

[Text] Ulcinj 8 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Municipal League of Communists in Ulcinj noted at its session today that the political and security situation in the municipality has been undermined, though according to statements made by committee members in the debate, elements warranting such an assessment also existed earlier. At the bottom of such an assessment is the conclusion that the nationalistic-irredentist counterrevolution in Kosovo has dragged Albanian nationalists and irredentists into the arena of open and crude enemy activity also in the Municipality of Ulcinj. Recently nationalistic manifestations have been manifested most intensively at the Bratstvo-Jedinstvo secondary school center, at the Bedri Elezaga primary school in Vladimir and at the Sukobin local community.

According to the assessment of the municipal committee, Albanian nationalists and irredentists are encouraged in the Ulcinj area by the enemy in Kosovo persistently raising his voice as well as by intensified anti-Yugoslav propaganda from Tirana to which the Ulcinj area is exposed to a high degree. Nationalism in this region is nothing new, it was stressed at the committee's session. It was noted also that immediately after the nationalistic counterrevolution in Kosovo, individuals who had earlier tried to act from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism also made themselves hear.

Nationalists act most aggressively toward young people in schools and toward children, using certain anniversaries and mass meetings by working people and citizens for this.

Thus, for instance, a group of teachers tried to turn the September seminar for educational workers teaching in the Albanian language into a political demonstration of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Under the pretext of a professional debate, they advocated the thesis which did not differ a bit from the demands made by counterrevolutionaries in Kosovo.

Similar activity was also manifested at the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Mirko Srzentic Library in Vladimir. The program of the celebration was prepared on the whole according to a transmission of Albanian television and under the pretext of shortening the program, the only part of the program which would have been broadcast in Serbo-Croatian was cancelled.

In border villages, songs are transmitted through loudspeakers glorifying the Albanian Workers' Party, songs which can also be heard in border villages in neighboring Albania. The aim is evidently to show how Enver Hoxha's policy enjoys support also in the Ulcinj Municipality.

We have kept silent about nationalistic activity for a long time because we have been happy about nationalistic activity not being stronger than it is. The nationalists have been happy because they have thought that we did not know what they are doing, Marko Kaludjerovic stressed at the session of the municipal committee. He emphasized the overt manifestation of nationalism, formal support, silence, opportunism, ideological neutralism and the absence of the party.

In Kaludjerovic's words -- and a number of other speakers, too, agreed with him -- these are more secret nationalistic wolves than those who have actually declared themselves as such and who are known as such.

Farmer Redzep Spahic, in stressing the century-old brotherhood and togetherness of Montenegrins and Albanians in the Ulcinj area, said that we have had little insight into who has been educating our children.

Jovan Micetic stressed that an open conflict with nationalists also could have been embarked on earlier.

Marko Nikpralevic stressed that it was unacceptable for the Albanian flag to be displayed in our country without the joint symbol of our nations and nationalities.

Hodo Resulbetovic also believes that the features of the flag of the Albanian nationality, which should be a symbol of brotherhood and unity and togetherness, should be reexamined.

Vlado Strugar, member of the Montenegro League of Communists Presidium, Dr Mijat Suhovic, member of the LCY Central Committee, Vukola Vasiljevic, executive secretary at the Montenegro League of Communist Central Committee, took part in the work of today's session of the Municipal LC Committee in Ulcinj.

In Vlado Strugar's words, the enemy operates craftily but the misfortune is not only that songs are sung but who undermines, who sabotages, who pushes children and the young into nationalism. Who does not carry out socialtasks?, Vlado Strugar said. He stressed the traditional harmony between Albanians and Montenegrins in Ulcinj, which is also established in the assessments of the municipal committee, and where it is stressed that brotherhood and unity of the people in Ulcinj area have always been the greatest wealth of the history of our century-old struggle against joint enemies and conquerors.

The Municipal League of Communists Committee of Ulcinj unanimously established today the proposed measures of ideopolitical responsibility for a considerable number of League of Communists members on account of their activity and behavior in connection with the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

The proposed measures have been sent to the Municipal LC Conference which will announce its views on them at its session on Thursday.

Party Members Expelled

LD1021334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Ulcinj 10 Dec (TANJUG) -- Assessing the political and security situation in the municipality to be disrupted due to the hostile activity of those taking the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, the Municipal Conference of the Ulcinj League of Communists today identified the nationalist hotbeds in this area and decided to wage an uncompromising struggle against the counterrevolutionary acitivies of the nationalists and irredentists.

After studying the strongholds, forms, contents and protagonists of nationalist activity, the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists unanimously proposed concrete measures on the ideopolitical and other responsibilities of several members of the League of Communists and party organizations which openly manifested nationalism or who in various ways showed an opportunistic and irresponsible attitude toward the manifestation of this social evil.

The Municipal Conference proposed to the basic party organizations that they expel from the League of Communists Tahir Perezaj, Bajram Redza, Mejren Maraj and Cazim Redza because of the open nationalist attitude they displayed at the September seminar for educational workers who teach in Albanian. This seminar was used for an open political manifestation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism under the pretext of scientific discussion. It was also proposed that Mehdija Alaj, Redzep Kokaj, Avnija Kurti, Idriz Kaleba, Petar Mirdita and Deda Zadrima be expelled from the League of Communists because of their opportunist behavior in connection with the events at the seminar and their solidarity with questions raised at the seminar.

It was proposed that the ideopolitical measure of a warning should be given to Bahrija Mila, director of the secondary school center brotherhood and unity at Ulcinj; Rajko Pavicevic, assistant director of the center and to Suma Kokaj, Kasem Ceka, Zef Mirdity, Veta Elezovic, Roza Pajovic, Dedi Ali and Saban Djekaj. It was assessed that their responsibility lay in their passive stance, irresponsible attitude and incorrect understanding of the situation and in the behavior of some members of their collective, as well as in their insufficient readiness to unmask the protagonists of nationalism and in their passive ideological attitude. These members of the League of Communists also behaved at the said seminar, at which these were expounded which were no different from the counterrevolutionary demands in Kosovo, in a manner unworthy of communists.

In view of such extreme nationalist behavior at the seminar of educational workers, it was also proposed -- apart from the above party punishment -- that the self-managing organs remove Tahir Perezaj, Bajram Redza, Meuren Maraj, and Cazim Redza from their collectives. The same was proposed for Mehmed Pavli, who is not a member of the League of Communists, Mehmed Alaj, Redzep Kokaj, Idriz, Kalaba and Kadrija Doda, who also is not a member of the League of Communists.

They behaved irresponsibly during the preparation and execution of the program celebrating the centenary of the Mirko Srzentic library in Vladimir. This program was prepared mainly on the basis of the programes of the Albanian television. The celebration itself opened with the singing of the Internationale and not the national anthem as is customary.

The Municipal Conference of the League of Communists relieved Petar Mirdit of his membership in the Municipal Conference, while Kasem Ceka ws relelved of his membership in the conference, the committee of the League of Communists and of his post as president of the Vladimir local community. It was proposed that Suma Kokaj's mandate in the Montenegro SAWP Republic Conference should cease.

It was proposed that Bahrija Mila be replaced as director of the secondary school brotherhood and unity in Ulcinj where nationalism was manifested most openly. Rajko Pavicevic should be replaced as assistant director of the center. The Municipal Conference of the League of Communists decided to dissolve the basic organization of the League of Communists in the local community of Sukobin due to its completely passive attitude toward the unmasking of nationalist activity.

It was assessed that this basic organization of the League of Communists is not in a position to be the leading ideopolitical force in the implementation of LCY tasks in its environment. The Municipal Committee of the League of Communists will establish the individual responsibility of the members of this basic party organization. Apart from the nationalist attacks during the farewell ceremonies for young men who were leaving for their service in the Yugoslav People's Army, songs were broadcast over loudspeakers, hailing Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Workers Party which were also heard in the border villages in neighboring Albania, with the obvious intention of showing how Enver Hoxha's policy was supported in this area as well.

The Municipal Conference of the League of Communists criticized the Secretariat of the basic party organization in Marshal Tito primary school for showing insufficient self-initiative in unmasking Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The conference also expressed a lack of confidence in the Secretariat of the basic party organization in Bedri Elezaga primary school in Vladimir which is also considered to be a nationalist stronghold. It was proposed to issue a warning to Arslan Bisaj before being expelled from the League of Communists for his hesitation in unmasking nationalist elements.

During several hours of discussion, in which members of the working group of the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee led by Dr Mijat Sukovic, member of the LCY Central Committee, also took part, the conference members unanimously denounced the nationalist phenomena in the municipality and expressed readiness to apply effective and consistent measures of responsibility against their protagonists.

Several participants emphasized that the League of Communists of the Ulcinj Municipality now is facing the most serious problem in the postwar period because Albanian nationalism had assumed such proportions that it has disrupted the security situation. It was emphasized that the tolerant and passive attitude of the subjective forces, above all of the members of the League of Communists and their leadership, contribute to this. It was justified to ask how it is allowed that the Yugoslav National Anthem has not been played already for a decade in the primary school in Vladimir, that the school children greet each other in the busses with the symbols of the Albanian Workers Party and that this was only just now being discussed. Other examples of activity by Albanian nationalists were also given; the unheard-of euphoria among youth in Ulcinj during last year's visit by a cultural group from Albania, the purchase of books with hostile contents from Albania and similar phenomena which illustrate an organized and undisturbed hostile activity.

The conference members self-criticially assessed that a relaxed attitude, a reluctance to offend, family relationships and lack of vigilance on the part of the League of Communists and its leadership were the basic reasons for nationalist activity being on the offensive.

It was also stated that, apart from increased propaganda from Albania, the more open and noticeable attacks by nationalist and irredentist forces in the Ulcinj Municipality were also due to the lack of timely and energetic settlement of accounts with these forces in Kosovo, including with individual leading structures which contributed to this situation and which were in a position to prevent it.

The discussion also disclosed that in the Ulcinj Municipality tolerance had been shown for years towards various anti-self-managing and illegal phenomena (usurpation of social property, illegal building activity, arbitrariness on the part of organs and individuals, misuse of credits for the earthquake areas and so on), which also represented fertile ground for the penetration of irredentist appetites. It was assessed therefore that the settlement of accounts with the protagonists of nationalist activity should be carried out in conjunction with an energetic settlement of accounts with other anti-self-managing phenomena as well.

VOJVODINA COMMUNISTS PREPARE FOR 17TH CONFERENCE

AU081659 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 81

[Summary] At its session today, the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina decided that the 17th conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina would be held in Novi Sad in April 1982, and adopted the first draft of its report to the conference which will now be submitted to public discussion. Nikola Bulatovic reports:

"Explaining the draft report on the work of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and noting the basic characteristics of the activity of the League of Communists of Vojvodina between the two conferences, Vasa Milic, secretary of the Provincial Committee Presidium, pointed out that we have been confronted by serious tension in the world's political and economic situation, complex problems of internal economic development and strong psychological propaganda pressures against the achievements of our revolution." It is for this reason, Milic said, that the report must elucidate and appraise as specifically as possible all activities in implementing the economic stabilization policy. According to Milic, the report will be further supplemented by appraisals made during the elections of delegates to the highest party meetings.

According to the decision adopted by the Provincial Committee today, 543 delegates representing the more than 220,000 members will attend the 17th conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina. The majority of delegates will be direct production workers, and the national structure of the delegate body will correspond to the national structure of the province's population.

CROATIA'S SUVAR DISCUSSES ANTI-STALINISM

AU072140 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Dec 81 p 10

[Fourth installment of D. Vasara's report on speech by Stipe Suvar, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, at a session of the city conference of the League of Communists of Zagreb -- date not given]

[Excerpts] The classic fascist right does not appeal to the youth, although it does succeed in gaining recruits from the ranks of young people, too. It is not "fashionable" in the world either.

Our "left," however, is occupied more and more with the obsession that socialism has practically everywhere, even in our country, degenerated into Stalinism or at least into a heavy oppressive bureaucratism. According to it, Stalinism is the "original sin" and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or the LCY was dogmatic and Stalinist before the war and in the course of the national liberation war, and has remained such until this day, while the resistance to Stalin was both a matter of self-preservation and a bright moment which was not utilized.

In this connection the slogan about the anti-Stalinist Stalinism was launched a long time ago and has been varied innumerable times in different nuances. When some of the most consistent "leftists" accept self-management, it is not our self-management which is painfully moving forward accompanied by some grave distortions, but self-management without the League of Communists.

What is the purpose of signing various petitions, which arise from a dogmatic assertion that the persecution of anyone's thoughts, of any kind, is impermissible, and that such persecution is always merely a sign of brute force? Or what is the purpose of assertions that "behavior" in which shots are fired and which leads to bloodshed in the streets (of course, according to those people the militia is to blame) is political behavior which is not incriminating.

Or again, some "leftists" recently tried to collect signatures abroad for a petition in favor of domestic nationalists and indulged in various kinds of writers' club flirting.

There are many symptomatic occurences which now indicate a growth of petit-bourgeois-radical consciousness and behavior all in the name of the left or along the line of a peculiar mixture of anarcho-liberal and nationalist vocation and provocation.

An unnecessary trial took place in Belgrade, the trial of the poet Djogo. Many protested against poetry being incriminated. One simply gains the impression that somebody has played with all of us in a devilish way in order to put this society on trial, to put on trial those who had not caused this "case," who had not dramatized it and who -- like writers and editors -- had not "unmasked" this poet, so that the tables would be turned at the trial and the lack of justification for the trial would be "unmasked."

People who really mean much to our culture and whom we must respect, as well as understand, became excited. A great confusion has remained, a great harm has remained, as well as an impression of a not inconsiderable part of public opinion that the regime has been possessed by a persecution passion against poetry. What does the sentence of this poet mean? His collection of poems really contains some disgusting outpourings. Poetry, too, can really be filthy. A newspaper carried a "court dossier " with the obvious intention of making the trial look absurd, but it omitted the verses about "the Rat of Dedinje" [Tito's Belgrade residence was at Dedinje] and the like. You will ask what connection this case has with our "left." Can we saddle it with this, too? No, it is not that, but it is a matter of the state of mind in which both the left and right, the libertarians and the nationalists, as well as many honest people worthy of all respect happened to join in the same indictment of the poet's indictment and actually in a trial of the regime, the repressive policy and the apparatus of violence. The "leftists," along with the nationalists -- and individuals who are both leftists and nationalists, who are nationalist leftists, as absurd as this may sound, are not rare -- have exploited all this to the utmost. However, we should all have honestly clarified the terms and avoided the technique of creating affairs as well as the trail of the poet who wrote some verses with very transparent allusions reeking of hatred and vileness. It is therefore a matter of a wide disturbance of the state of mind which plays into the hands of those who, in connection with this "case," point out the alleged horror of bureaucratic repression.

We must struggle for the consiousness of every man, for the young people who are being grabbed by the nationalists, the clericals and the anarcho-liberals, or who are standing apart, apolitical and passive, and can be attracted at a given moment by the siren-like voices of both the false left and the resurrected right.

Anyhow, all these ideologies which want to provoke disturbances and "changeovers" in our country manifest a conglomeration of opposition political currents and forces whose joint ambition is that a "third Yugoslavia," the post-Tito one, should possibly emerge. Some of them assert that things are moving in that direction, because "the regime is sinking." Others say that a "positive evolution" is necessary in the sense of introducing freedoms and democracy as they comprehend them, and yet others speak about a "negative evolution," saying that general anarchy is reigning and that there is no hope, but the forces of "true socialism," forces of socialist order and a firm hand will appear as the saving force. If a "third Yugoslavia" would come about, the opposition forces would quarrel about it: Whether it will be social-democratic in the best case, or a country of just, englightened socialism, or it will fall apart with the victory of nationalism. Foreign powers wanting Tito's Yugoslavia to become destabilized count on all these opposition forces.

I am not a prophet of ideological catastrophes, nor do I derive pleasure from frightening myself. I think, however, that we should look the truth squarely in the eye and not only look but also act consistently and frankly in a communist and socialist way. We must win people over and must achieve the working masses finally being truly the decisive factor in socialist politics, and we will not attain this by various opportunist covers-up, by sticking our heads in the sand and through the philosophy: Let it go on as it is as long as it goes.